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PAROLE PREDICTION IN WISCONSIN

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Adult probation in Wisconsin was established by statute in 1901. Parole of inmates from the State Prison seems to have been established by law in 1889. Supervision of parolees was committed to the State Board of Supervision.[1] Hitherto parole had been administered almost everywhere by the parole officers attached to each institution. In Wisconsin even after it was placed directly under the State Board having charge of the penal and correctional institutions, the number of parole officers was so small that there was a good deal of dissatisfaction and great danger that the legislature would abolish it. Later more officers were appointed and parole was accepted as a cheap method of controlling some prisoners.

It was this situation that stimulated my first attempts at research on penological problems in Wisconsin. At that time there were few precedents in the scientific study of parole and probation. Before my later studies on those subjects were attempted the results of a number of studies by others had been published.

Early studies on parole and probation in the United States. Perhaps brief reference to some of the early studies in this field may be of interest to the reader. They were concerned chiefly with the results of probation and parole, with the chief emphasis on parole. The earliest studies were on juveniles. Among them were Clark, "Success Records for Delinquent Boys in Relation to Intelligence," *Journal of Delinquency,* September 1920, pp. 177-81; and Pinter and Reamer, "Mental Ability and Future Success of Delinquent Girls," *Journal of Delinquency,* March 1918, pp. 74-79.

Then came studies bearing upon the success or failure of adults on parole: Warner, "Factors Determining Parole from the Massachusetts

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[1] Bernett Odegard and George M. Keith, *A History of the State Board of Control of Wisconsin and the State Institutions, 1849-1939,* Madison, no date, pp. 10, 11, 218-21.

Reformatory," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* August 1923, pages 190, 192; Heacox, "A Study of One Year's Parole Violators Returned to Auburn Prison," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* July 1917, pp. 253-58; Clark, "Success Records of Prisoners and Delinquents," *Journal of Delinquency,* July 1921, pp. 450-51. These reports were before me when I started with my graduate students to study the results of parole in Wisconsin.

In the late twenties and early thirties attention shifted to the problem of constructing prediction tables for the guidance of paroling authorities in granting parole and of courts in extending probation. The first study that stimulated interest in prediction of outcome on parole was that by Sam B. Warner, referred to above. Hart in his article, "Predicting Parole Success," in the November issue of the same journal took issue with Warner and pointed out that, while Warner had performed a valuable service in segregating the factors considered by the Board and sixty-four other items Warner considered important, he had not applied any test of the significance of the differences between the various factors nor pointed out certain statistical techniques that must be applied to establish a prediction table. This was followed five years later by a large-scale attempt to set up prediction tables on success or failure of parolees. It was by Bruce, Harno, Burgess, and Landesco, *Workings of the Indeterminate Sentence Law and Parole System in Illinois, a Report to the Honorable Hinton C. Clabaugh, Chairman, Parole Board of Illinois, 1928,* Part IV; the same report was published in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* May 1928, Part II. Burgess followed this by "Is Prediction Feasible in Social Work? An Inquiry Based upon a Sociological Study of Parole Records," *Social Forces,* June 1929, pp. 553 ff. In 1929 Glueck and Glueck published "Predictability in the Administration of Criminal Justice," *Mental Hygiene,* October 1929, pp. 678-707. This article was published as Chapter 18 in the same authors' *500 Criminal Careers,* New York, 1930. Vold in *Prediction Methods and Parole,* Minneapolis, 1931, Chapter VI, and in an article entitled "Do Parole Prediction Tables Work in Practice?" *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* May 1931, pp. 136-38, attempted to apply a different method from those hitherto proposed. Tibbits, in his article "Success or Failure on Parole Can Be Predicted: A Study of the Records of 3,000 Youths Paroled from the Illinois State Reformatory," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* May 1931, pp. 11-50, applied to this large sample a somewhat modified form of Burgess' method. By the time I began to study parole in Wisconsin, the results of these previous studies were before me.

Still later Ferris F. Laune, in *Predicting Criminality,* Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences, Evanston, 1936, tried a different approach. He set up a table based on the estimate of future behavior of selected inmates of the Illinois State Prison which had been made by fellow inmates. This study had not been followed up to ascertain how well the prediction corresponded with actual behavior on parole.

At this point in the development of interest in formulating an experience table that would enable a parole board to select parolees on an objective basis provided by a table of factors associated with success and failure on parole, William F. Lanne published "Parole Prediction as Science" in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* September 1935, pp. 377-400. This was a most important article. The author suggested that there are four requisites that any prediction factor must meet if it is to be valid—(1) reliability, (2) significance of association with outcome, (3) freedom from intercorrelation with other factors, and (4) stability. The first three had been considered by some previous studies, but the last, up to that time, had not received much attention. What is more important, Lanne devised a statistical technique and applied it to the previous studies in order to demonstrate from the data supplied by them that a more scientifically sound list of factors can be set up for prediction purposes.

Published in 1939 in Volume IV, *Parole,* of Attorney General's Survey of Relief Procedures, by the Department of Justice in Washington, Chapter XI gives the results of a study of the largest number of cases in the history of parole studies in the United States, over 95,000 cases. They were cases paroled, from 1928 to 1935 inclusive, from 75 institutions in 42 states and the District of Columbia. In the same year in Volume II of the same Survey, Chapter X, the results of a study of 19,171 probationers from 24 probation units in 16 states and the District of Columbia were published. But these were for the years 1933 to 1935 inclusive.

In both studies the analysis attempted to answer two questions: (1) the usual one in previous studies—What characteristics are associated significantly with outcome on parole and probation?—and (2) a new one—What characteristics are associated significantly with the selection by the authorities of those to whom probation and parole were granted? In these studies the usual tests of the X^2 for significance of association were employed. But no tests for stability over a long period of time were used. The attempt, however, was made to test stability of a characteristic between the cases from different states.

More recently, R. L. Jenkins, Henry Harper Hart, Philip I. Sperling, and Sidney Axelrod, in "Prediction of Parole Success," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* May-June 1942, page 38, made a study of 300 boys in the New York Training School for Boys. Although it included psychiatric data not found in previous studies, this study was so loaded with subjective data that its reliability was doubtful.

The results of all these studies were before us when the final analysis was made, but some of them had not yet appeared when we started to collect the data from the records.

Certain preliminary studies of parole in Wisconsin were made in the twenties.[2]

After the University made available research funds, it was possible to select and subsidize graduate students as research assistants and attack the problems of probation and parole and to attempt a study of executive clemency in a more systematic fashion. Since then the following studies have been made:

1. *Efficiency of Cumulative Experience Tables in Parole Prediction,* a study of 1,628 parolees from the State Reformatory at Green Bay whose paroles terminated between 1930 and 1935, by B. G. Wood.

2. *A Study of Prisoners Paroled from the Wisconsin State Prison 1934-1937,* by Robert C. Schmid. This was a group of 1,029 parolees.

3. A study entitled *Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in Wisconsin,* by Reuben L. Hill, of 2,819 cases closed by the Bureau from January 1, 1933, to December 31, 1935.

4. *The Educational Treatment of Prisoners and Recidivism,* by Alfred C. Schnur, a study of 1,762 men released on parole between January 1, 1936, and December 31, 1941. Of these, 1,082 had had no contact with the prison day school, and 680 had been enrolled in at least one day class.

5. *The Validity of Parole Selection in Wisconsin,* by Alfred C. Schnur, a study of the same 1,762 parolees but with consideration of all the possible factors to be found in the records of the Bureau of Probation and Parole.

6. A preliminary study of 501 cases granted executive clemency in Wisconsin entitled *Pardons Granted in Wisconsin, 1901-1938 Inclusive,* Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1940.

7. A study on executive clemency in Wisconsin, supplementary to

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[2] Helen Witmer, *Adult Parole with Special Reference to Wisconsin,* Ph.D. thesis, 1925; Elizabeth Badger, *A Case Study of Parolees from the Industrial School for Girls,* A.M. thesis, 1927.

(6) above. This was made with the help of Margaret Smith, Robert Strain, and David Steinicke, my graduate assistants.

It will be observed that four of these studies were on parole, one on probation, and two on executive clemency.

PAROLE PREDICTION

Wood's research, the first made in this penological series, is unique in a number of respects. (1) Instead of taking a group of parolees whose cases were closed in 1930-35 and treating them as a unit, we took the 629 released from supervision in 1933 and 1934, analyzed the factors associated with success and failure on parole, and then, following Lanne's suggestion in the paper cited above, tested these factors for stability by a group of 763 closed in the years immediately preceding, and by another group of 236 closed in 1935. (2) Only those factors found stable in the three groups were used as a basis of prediction of success or failure on parole. (3) The methods used by Burgess on Illinois parolees and by the Gluecks on Massachusetts parolees were then applied to the Wisconsin group in order to see if the factors Burgess and the Gluecks found in their studies were valid when applied to the Wisconsin Reformatory group.

What were the results? (1) It was found that some of the factors associated with success or failure on parole in the original group of 629 were not important when applied to the other two groups. (2) Throughout the three groups only four factors remained constant in their significance—criminal history, work record, behavior in the institution, and length of time on parole. (3) On applying the Burgess method we found that that method gave no more consistent results when applied to the three groups in our study. The same was true of the Glueck procedure and of a modified Burgess method. Both of the cumulative tables, showing the application of the Burgess and of the modified Burgess method to our three groups, compare unfavorably as to stability with the single classification of previous criminal record. These findings were most disappointing—indeed, devastating. For they not only destroyed the hope with which we started out, that we might be able to find a method by which the parole authority in this state could select more exactly than by the rule-of-thumb methods in use those who gave promise of succeeding on parole, but they also showed that none of the methods developed in other states, and so enthusiastically acclaimed, were of any value when applied to our material.

The second study of parole, that of parolees from the Wisconsin State Prison, was equally if not more disappointing. In the study of the Reformatory parolees it appeared that "previous arrests" was stable in all three groups, but in the study of parolees from the Prison even that proved to be unstable in the three groups and also had no significance in a single group.

The two studies by Schnur represented a further refinement of method. He tested more thoroughly than the previous studies the intercorrelation of the factors considered. His first study, No. 4 above, was on the possible association of education in the prison school with recidivism while on parole. This he did by holding constant each of the factors which seemed to have influence on future behavior while varying the other factors. From this study it appeared that experience in the day classes for six months or more had a significant association with lessened recidivism.[3]

His second study, No. 5 above, applied similar tests for intercorrelation but considered the factors revealed by the records on the total sample of 1,762 parolees. In No. 4 he had considered only the 680 of the 1,762 who had experience in the school and used the other 1,082 as a control group. This study confirmed the findings of Wood's study that the only factor associated significantly with outcome on parole which showed stability over different periods of time was "previous criminal career."

It must be said in view of these findings that prediction tables based on the information in the records of parolees in Wisconsin are impossible. And those who have made up prediction tables in other states without testing their findings for stability over a period of time are shouldered with the burden of proof that their factors are stable. Until they test them, as we have done, their findings are open to suspicion that their prediction tables are worthless, no matter how large the sample on which they based them.[4]

So far as we can see from the results of our investigation in Wisconsin, the data to be found in the records at present do not reveal consistently over different periods of time the factors which determined the behavior of the parolees. The data on the early backgrounds of the

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[3] So far as I know, this is the only study of the association of experience in prison on outcome on parole. It is only one aspect of many that should be studied.

[4] Sutherland has pointed out the inadequacy of the prediction tables used during the period when great hopes were entertained with respect to them. *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1945, pp. 429-35.

parolees are not those which throw light on the factors which gave the set to the personality and character of the parolee. After all, what we were trying to discover was (1) what characteristics of the personality of these parolees were associated with their behavior and (2) what in their experience and constitutional make-up determined those characteristics.

Before these things can be learned we shall probably have to attack the problem in a different way. By careful personal interviews and investigation of the communities from which these men come we shall have to dig down below the surface data now in the records to determine (1) just what attitudes and habits these prisoners have and (2) what experiences are associated significantly with those attitudes and habits, and thus assumedly had an influence in producing them. For prediction purposes only the first has been thought necessary. But that is not enough. All studies thus far have gone on the assumption that a man was the same after prison experience as before, and that therefore no account need be taken of what that experience did to his attitudes and habits.[5] Certainly that is a gratuitous assumption. It may be so, but we do not know. Some method must be devised to ascertain whether or not his prison experience has had any effect on his outlook on life and, if so, just what effect. Further, probably we shall have to ascertain whether all prisoners who are considered for parole have common kinds of personalities or have different habit systems and varying characteristics. If we should find, as my study of murderers, sex offenders, and property offenders in the State Prison of Wisconsin[6] seemed to show, that they have different types of personalities, then we can test the association of these characteristics peculiar to different groups of prisoners with their success or failure on parole. By that method we might get groups with more homogeneous characteristics. It was hoped that psychological and psychiatric examinations would give glimpses of just such characteristics, but so far the findings of those disciplines have not been of much help in differentiating the characteristics of those who succeed from those who fail on parole. Neither have the types of investigation by parole officers supplied the data necessary to such differentiation. And nothing has been done to ascertain what characteristics have been developed by the experience of incarceration. The studies by the Gluecks on conditions favorable or unfavorable to success while on parole have value in in-

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[5] The Gluecks have shown that a prisoner's postparole experience is important in his later conduct. See their *Later Criminal Careers*.

[6] *The Wisconsin Prisoner*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1946.

dicating to parole officers the conditions to which the parolee should be subjected on parole, but they did not test those conditions for intercorrelation with factors in preparole experience, nor do the postparole conditions aid much in determining parolability.

The proposal we have made is faced with difficulties. (1) Personal interviews with the prisoner and with people in the community in which he was reared cost time and money. Yet experience up to date indicates that only by interviews can the characteristics of the personality be discovered, and the conditions under which these characteristics developed. If in that way parolability can better be determined and fewer mistakes made, the expense of time and money would be justified. (2) It might be thought that any attempt to measure the effect of treatment while in the institution on the personality of the prisoner would encounter grave difficulties. But such investigations as have been made among students to determine what changes in opinion and attitude resulted from taking a certain course would not disturb prison routine any more than existing physical, psychological, and psychiatric examinations. Such a test might well be made on an experimental basis first, taking only a small number, until trial had shown what test statements or questions gave the best results. Possibly such a test would show that it would have to be supplemented by personal interviews. That would require more time and money. My own experience in making studies in the Wisconsin State Prison indicates that institution authorities are ready to cooperate with serious students in whom they have confidence. I should not expect serious opposition to even a controlled experiment in the treatment of the inmates. (3) Interviews with the prisoner and with the people in his community must be so shaped that the real factors in his behavior are revealed. Interviewing is a difficult art if one is not to suggest his own answers, if one is not to be diverted from fundamental to superficial matters, and if he is to succeed in unearthing the subtle emotional influences which have so much to do with the determination of responses to social situations, the determination of habits, and the formation of meaningful associations. (4) Results of interviews must be so recorded that the important factors may be quantified and analyzed statistically. These are real difficulties, but they are not insuperable. No finer challenge to young scholars can be thought of than to overcome these and other such difficulties. The advancement of the bounds of knowledge is supposed to be one of the most important tasks of the scholar. No better use can be found for the expenditure of money by individuals, foundations, and universities than in helping ambitious young scholars to explore these jungles of ignorance.

A SOCIAL DISTANCE STUDY
OF DULUTH, MINNESOTA

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For a number of years psychologists and sociologists have been concerned with the concept of social distance. One of the leading psychologists working in this field has been L. L. Thurstone, while among sociologists, the research of Emory S. Bogardus has been noteworthy. Since the social distance scale as ultimately developed by Bogardus is the basis for the present study, perhaps it will be wise to use his definition of the term *social distance*:

Social distance is the sympathetic understanding that exists between persons, between groups, and between a person and each of his groups. It may take the form of either farness or nearness. Where there is little sympathetic understanding, social farness exists. Where sympathetic understanding is great, nearness obtains.[1]

The purpose of this study is to ascertain feelings of social distance among certain specified groups in Duluth, Minnesota, toward various nationality, racial, and religious groupings. It is hoped that this research will be a contribution toward more accurately measuring human relations than was common a generation ago. As Bogardus puts it:

When a fair degree of accuracy in measuring human relations is possible, then social distance can engage reliably in making social predictions. When dependability in making such predictions is realized, then human societies for the first time can exercise intelligent control over themselves.[2]

In this study of social distance in Duluth fourteen different groups were surveyed. Of these groups, eight consisted of students from the fifth grade through college seniors. The remaining six groups were composed of lower-, middle-, and upper-class neighborhoods, a predominantly Scandinavian neighborhood, a predominantly foreign other than Scandinavian neighborhood, and a business and professional grouping. It was felt that these groupings would represent not only the chief social classes in Duluth but also the students who will eventually exert more influence as they mature.

The same social distance scale was used for all the respondents. For the students, however, the scales were administered in a questionnaire fashion in their classes, whereas for the other respondents, the scales were

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1 Emory S. Bogardus, *Sociology*, Revised Edition (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), p. 106.
2 "Social Distance and Its Practical Implications," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22:476, 1938.

given in personal interviews. A universal sample was obtained for the fifth and seventh grades in the University of Minnesota, Duluth, Laboratory School. Complete samples were taken of a mathematics and a civics class in the ninth grade of Duluth West Junior High School, as well as in two eleventh-grade English classes at Duluth Denfeld High School. At the University of Minnesota, Duluth, 10 per cent samples were taken of the males and females in each of the four undergraduate classes. The respondents for this latter sample were chosen from students taking English and geography courses, since it was assumed that they would perhaps be more "neutral" toward a survey of this sort than would students who might have been exposed to specific teachings pertaining to race and nationality in courses of sociology and psychology. It is assumed, however, that a number, but far from all, of the students in the English and geography classes had taken courses in sociology and psychology.

Several persons who were lifelong residents of Duluth helped determine the location of the five neighborhood groupings studied. When these neighborhoods were ascertained, certain blocks within them were designated for "pin-point" sampling. Thus an adult head of each household in the specified areas was interviewed by one of the field workers.[3] In the sample of the business and professional group, the interviewer was instructed somewhat arbitrarily to include within his survey five physicians, five lawyers, five dentists, five ministers, five teachers, and twenty-seven businessmen. It was particularly urged that he get the respondents for all the subgroupings from a number of different places in town so as to avoid clustering around one center.

From an ideal research point of view, there are, of course, limitations to this study. Had time and resources been available, it would have been advisable to take a random sample of all sections of Duluth instead of the "pin-point" sampling of certain neighborhoods. The writer was also faced by the fact that he had to use inexperienced field workers in the survey, but he feels that, aside from certain inherent limitations in such a procedure, the enthusiasm and intelligence of the workers constituted a large compensating factor. A final limiting factor is that, whereas the neighborhood and public school samples were taken in the late fall of 1948, the samples in the University and its Laboratory School

were taken in early 1949. The reason for this discrepancy is that earlier questionnaires taken from the students were unwittingly destroyed by a janitor before the tabulations had been made.

RESULTS

In the tabulations, group racial distance quotients (G.R.D.Q.) were obtained according to instructions given by Bogardus:

By taking the lowest column number that is checked, for example, for each race by each member of a group of persons and averaging the total it is possible to obtain a group racial distance quotient (G.R.D.Q.) ....[4]

If the questionnaire in the Appendix is checked, this procedure will be clear. This questionnaire is concerned with eight groups: the English, Italians, Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. It was felt that these groups give a fair representation, within bounds, of peoples having an important bearing on American life today.

The straight samples. In Table 1 are found the data for the straight runs of each of the fourteen samples. There are a number of factors that stand out. For example, it is at once apparent that three groups stand out as having the most antipathy directed toward them, namely, the Negroes, Mexicans, and Chinese. These groups are perhaps the most distinguishable of the eight listed on the social distance scale, and this probably helps account for their social farness. Among the religious groupings, the most prejudice is directed toward the Jews, with the Catholics a poor second. In a country which historically is predominantly Anglo-Saxon Protestant, it should come as no surprise that the greatest amount of social nearness is felt toward the English and the Protestants.

Looking next at the specified samples, one outstanding factor is that the students seem to have less prejudice than the neighborhood groupings; and, more specifically, the lower-grade students show less hostility toward the various groupings than do the college students. One possibility is that the students acquire more prejudice as they grow older, and another alternative is that the students of tomorrow will have less prejudice than have the students of today. Quite probably, however, there is truth in both statements. Among the various neighborhoods, the Scandinavian group shows the most prejudice, and this may reflect their reportedly strong feelings of endogamy.

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[4] "A Social Distance Scale," *Sociology and Social Research,* 17:271, 1933.

TABLE 1

SOCIAL DISTANCE RATINGS FOR VARIOUS NATIONALITY, RACIAL, AND RELIGIOUS GROUPINGS, BY SPECIFIED SAMPLES IN DULUTH, MINNESOTA, 1948-1949

Specified Sample	No. of Cases	ENGLISH	ITALIAN	NEGRO	MEXICAN	CHINESE	PROTEST.	CATH.	JEW
Students									
5th grade	18	1.00	1.17	1.33	1.55	1.28	1.11	1.05	1.05
7th grade	18	1.06	1.55	2.17	2.00	1.88	1.22	1.38	1.28
9th grade	58	1.10	1.35	2.31	1.92	2.15	1.16	1.31	1.87
11th grade	54	1.34	1.28	2.62	2.34	2.53	1.21	1.44	2.01
College									
Freshmen	52	1.06	1.40	3.70	3.79	3.40	1.20	1.40	2.48
Sophomores	43	1.04	1.30	3.14	3.33	2.93	1.09	1.47	2.02
Juniors	44	1.07	1.18	3.02	2.93	3.02	1.09	1.50	2.29
Seniors	29	1.00	1.28	3.35	3.07	3.28	1.24	1.43	2.53
Neighborhood									
Upper class	47	1.00	1.90	3.75	3.62	3.30	1.00	1.53	2.30
Middle class	43	1.05	1.38	3.74	3.97	3.33	1.00	1.49	2.35
Lower class	51	1.00	1.37	3.97	4.05	3.95	1.14	1.24	3.09
Scandinavian	56	1.25	1.94	4.84	4.83	4.40	1.25	1.48	4.02
Foreign	47	1.27	1.17	3.97	3.55	3.16	1.12	1.00	2.02
Business and professional	52	1.21	1.94	4.06	3.67	3.40	1.23	1.62	3.09
Total	612								

Before going on to the other tables showing a number of variables, it may be of interest and significance to look at some of the attitudes of the individual respondents as revealed by their statements, both written and oral. A twenty-year-old college sophomore female of German-Swedish descent wrote: "I would include Negroes, Mexicans, and Chinese as my personal chums and also as neighbors if we hold the same values. I have had personal friends among Negroes, but this relationship has been hindered by my other white friends. It means the loss of white friends." A twenty-two-year-old male junior of French-Irish extraction stated: "I believe the Negro would feel as out of place and uneasy living in my neighborhood as I would be in his. It is very unfortunate that they do not have a homeland such as the Jews do in Palestine."

In the lower-class neighborhood, several respondents spoke their minds. A sixty-one-year-old woman born in Russian Poland of German extraction said that she had no use for Negroes. "They will slice your throat with a razor. What good are the Chinese? They don't do any work. Just go pussyfooting around. Jews don't do any work; they only rub their fingers for the money." A thirty-seven-year-old woman of French extraction said all the Jews should be in Palestine. A real cynic in this lower-class neighborhood, a thirty-four-year-old male of Swedish descent and college graduate, told the student interviewer: "I suppose your teacher is going to write a book, and you're the sucker out getting material for him."

In the predominantly foreign other than Scandinavian neighborhood, a fifty-three-year-old woman of French-Scotch ancestry said she was "against all English because my son's wife was English, and she up and left him. She was a typical Englishwoman." A forty-two-year-old woman from Slovenia stated: "The English are lazy, pompous, self-centered. The Italians are fine people and nice to deal with. The Negroes are nice people but are physically dirty, of a different race, and cause nothing but trouble when mixed with white people. The Mexicans are physically dirty, lazy, and have a feeling of superiority. The Chinese are backward and physically dirty. The Jews have a different outlook on life."

Among the business and professional group, a fifty-eight-year-old Jewish businessman said that he didn't know why he was prejudiced. "I was buying a house, and then discovered that Negroes were living next door, so then I did not go through with the purchase." A fifty-five-year-old barber spoke as follows: "I can't refuse to cut anyone's hair because I am a Christian."

Several of the respondents cited in this section revealed themselves to be very opinionated in their views toward the groupings studied. Although they may be isolated examples, they are not unimportant. Bogardus' views on this are:

The persons who are most certain, or cocksure, either for or against a given procedure, are far more important than are those who are mildly for or mildly against. These persons are very significant, first, because they are the ones who are going to fight and to sacrifice, either for or against. They are important, second, because their attitudes are not going to be changed easily. They will remain loyal or stubborn and will not be easily moved.[5]

Variations according to sex. The differences according to sex are negligible.[6] Among several of the samples, however, the males tend to show more antipathy toward the groups than do the females. Specifically, these samples are the college seniors, the Scandinavian neighborhood, and the foreign other than Scandinavian neighborhood. The differences in these cases pertain particularly toward the Negroes, Mexicans, and Chinese. In none of the samples do the females show consistently more prejudice than the males.

Variations according to age. The age groupings are divided into three categories; 16 through 30, 31 through 50, and 51 and over. Almost all of the students would fall into the first category or into an even younger classification; the data for them can be found in Table 1. One finding is that there is a tendency for persons to show more prejudice as they fall into the higher age brackets. It can be recalled from Table 1 that the youngest respondents, the elementary grade students, show the least prejudice of all. This tendency seems to prevail throughout the several samples, although there are certain exceptions. For example, in the lower-class neighborhood, the respondents in the intermediate category, 31-50, show more social farness than either the older or younger respondents.

Variations according to nationality background. In order to get at the nationality background of the respondents, a threefold classification is used: respondents having a predominantly western European background, those having a predominantly eastern (and southern) European background, and those having some other background or a mixture of the first two. The respondents come predominantly from a western European background—the lone exception being the respondents from the foreign other than Scandinavian neighborhood. Generally speaking,

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[5] "Scales in Social Research," *Sociology and Social Research*, 24:70, 1939.
[6] Tables are available giving the data regarding variations as to sex, age, nationality background, and religious preference, but are not published here because of space complications.

the differences according to nationality background are not significant. As would be expected, there is a slight tendency for the respondents of a western European background to be most favorable toward the English and the Protestants, and for the respondents of eastern (and southern) European background to be most favorable toward the Italians and Catholics. Concerning a comparatively "neutral" grouping—the Negroes —both groups show about the same hostility.

Variations according to religious preference. Most of the respondents in this sample were Protestants, with the Catholics ranking next. There were twenty-two Jewish respondents and thirty-two respondents who have some other religion or else no religion. Perhaps the most significant thing about this aspect of the study is that, at least among these respondents, religion does not seem a very important factor in differentiating their attitudes toward various groupings. An obvious exception to this is that the Protestants show the least prejudice toward themselves and the Catholics least toward themselves. It is rather interesting to point out, however, that several Protestants, Catholics, and Jews made the rather unusual statement that they would not admit one of their own group to close kinship by marriage. A possibility is that they did not fully understand the instructions, and perhaps a more remote one is that they were anxious to lose identity with their present group.

Concerning religious preference and prejudice, a number of the respondents made interesting statements. A twenty-three-year-old English war bride stated: "There should be no religious interference with marriage. The Jews are easy to get along with, but the Catholics are hypocrites." A twenty-eight-year-old Protestant of Swedish descent said: "There is nothing wrong with the Jews. They are just smart people. I wish I had their ways." A fifty-six-year-old Catholic priest told his interviewer: "The question on nationality background is nonsensical for a United States citizen. I'm fed up on surveys, and, besides, the questions aren't too good."

Variations according to education. In Table 2 are included the figures on the educational attainment of the respondents except for those who are students—data on them having been presented in Table 1. Since many persons look upon education as being a panacea for prejudice in general, this table takes on added significance. It can be observed that there is a tendency for the better-educated respondents to have less prejudice than the others, but there are exceptions. For example, in the Scandinavian neighborhood grouping, the college-educated category is more prejudiced than either of the other two classifications toward

TABLE 2

SOCIAL DISTANCE RATINGS FOR VARIOUS NATIONALITY, RACIAL, AND RELIGIOUS GROUPINGS, BY EDUCATION, OF SPECIFIED SAMPLES IN DULUTH, MINNESOTA, 1948-1949*

Specified Sample	No. of Cases Education			ENGLISH Education			ITALIAN Education			NEGRO Education			MEXICAN Education		
	4-8	9-12	Coll.	4-8	9-12	Coll.	4-8	9-12	Coll.	4-8	9-12	Coll.	4-8	9-12	Coll.
Neighborhood															
Upper class	0	13	34	--	1.00	1.00	--	2.71	1.24	--	6.92	3.45	--	4.35	2.81
Middle class	4	15	23	--	1.00	1.00	--	1.40	1.30	--	3.70	3.60	--	3.90	4.00
Lower class	25	18	1	1.00	1.00	--	1.40	1.28	--	4.10	3.94	--	4.13	3.94	--
Scandinavian	11	36	9	1.36	1.31	1.00	2.50	1.42	1.92	4.70	4.48	6.00	4.70	4.03	5.92
Foreign	8	34	5	1.75	1.27	1.00	1.25	1.12	1.40	4.63	4.03	3.00	5.00	3.90	3.25
Business and professional	9	15	28	1.22	1.21	1.21	1.88	2.31	1.77	4.89	3.70	4.04	4.50	3.33	3.54

Specified Sample	No. of Cases Education			CHINESE Education			PROTESTANTS Education			CATHOLICS Education			JEWS Education		
	4-8	9-12	Coll.	4-8	9-12	Coll.	4-8	9-12	Coll.	4-8	9-12	Coll.	4-8	9-12	Coll.
Neighborhood															
Upper class	0	13	34	--	4.14	2.75	--	1.02	1.00	--	1.64	1.40	--	2.78	2.04
Middle class	4	15	23	--	3.70	2.95	--	1.00	1.00	--	1.58	1.30	--	3.60	2.70
Lower class	25	18	1	3.68	4.35	--	1.17	1.00	--	1.38	1.22	--	2.46	3.59	--
Scandinavian	11	36	9	3.83	4.14	5.07	1.23	1.45	1.00	1.90	1.31	1.23	3.60	3.46	5.15
Foreign	8	34	5	4.75	3.27	3.25	1.38	1.03	1.20	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.38	2.06	1.60
Business and professional	9	15	28	3.57	3.33	3.46	1.89	1.07	1.11	1.78	2.08	1.37	3.50	3.08	2.93

*Inasmuch as there were only eight respondents (seven from lower class, one from middle class) having less than four years of formal education, they are not included in this table.

the Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, and Jews. In the upper-class neighborhood, on the other hand, the college-educated group consistently shows itself to be less prejudiced than the other group. As a whole, therefore, it would seem that the factor of education diminishes hostility somewhat toward racial, nationality, and religious groups.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that various groupings in the city of Duluth vary considerably in their social distance measurements toward other groups. As a generalization, it may be stated that the younger respondents show the least prejudice. This may indicate that the numerous efforts directed toward eradicating prejudice are taking roots in the schools and that the future will see a diminution in racial, nationality, and religious conflict. But it may also mean that children learn their prejudice gradually and that by the time they are adult heads of homes they will have approximately the same amount of prejudice as prevails among present-day adults. In any event, it is encouraging to point out that education itself seems to be a mitigating factor in prejudice, and if such be the case schools are at least making some efforts toward encouraging tolerance. It is almost a platitude to state that certain groups are exploiting the differences among various groupings for their own benefits, and if this country is to successfully withstand these assaults —both internal and external—it should study its present condition and make amends accordingly.

THE ROLE OF SELF-DIRECTION
IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT

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Most literature on child development stresses the role of external forces in the social and emotional development of the child. To illustrate briefly from psychoanalytic theory, now the dominating point of view in the field, we may mention Freud's theory of the normal "stages" in child development (which are not only due to instinctual urges and parental roles, but also imply that permanent quirks in personality result from failure to pass from one stage to another), Adler's theory of the tremendous influence of an abnormal physical trait on the personality of the child, Abraham's correlations of adult personality types with children's satisfactions with various biological functions, and Rank's giving central importance to the birth experience. Most other psychological "schools" seem to accord an even more central role to external mechanical influences, and the popular "child care" literature follows the lead of the experts.

The purpose of this paper is not to deny the importance of any of these external determiners. It seems very likely that all have some importance and that some have major importance in the development of personality. The purpose of this paper is twofold: first, to point out that each of the external determinants is an abstraction and, as such, applies to a concrete child only when seen in combination with several other influences usually acting simultaneously. A child given strong punishment by a parent may at once have a trauma, be conditioned, and take the role of another in evaluating himself. Our second, and major, aim is to suggest that there is another type of influence which is being largely overlooked by modern child psychologists and psychiatrists.

The influence to which we refer, while practically overlooked by modern psychological science, is a major element in certain folk theories of how to bring up a child. It is, in fact, a result of the practical experience in child raising of Western peoples and a survival of the theological doctrine of the "soul," which perhaps also has its roots in popular pragmatic experience. This popular theory is not quite accounted for in the theories of the "social self" developed by Baldwin, James, Cooley,

Mead, and others.[1] The popular theory, stated briefly, seems to be something like this: every human being has a "soul"—or "self"—that is capable of being awakened into active determination of his psychic behavior. More specifically, a "bad" person can become "good"; a man can be converted to the "true" religion (or otherwise "can see the light"); one can "forgive and forget" any terrible hurt (i.e., a trauma); one can transcend "bad influences" and "bad companions"; the purpose of life is to "develop the soul." Folk literature and theological writings would furnish many more examples and concrete extensions of this generalized popular theory.

In one respect, at least, the theory is certainly wrong: the "soul," or "self," is not ready-made, is not present at birth, is not given by "God." It has been the great contribution of the Baldwin, etc., line of psychologists to point out that the social self is something that develops out of experience, especially experience with other selves. But there is a sense in which the theory may possibly have validity: it may be that the "self"—when once it reaches a certain stage of development —can overcome, in a degree, much of the conditioning, the trauma, and even the social influences, and can direct its own future development.

If the theory is to be used for scientific purposes, it must have two modifications. First, existing knowledge about child *development* must modify it. The ability of the child to redirect itself in the manner described in the theory is a matter of gradual development. Second, it must be recognized that the extreme case of the theory certainly never happens: one can never overcome all his previous experiences and influences. But it may be that one can overcome a certain number of his previous experiences to a certain extent if he makes a conscious effort. That is to say, this popular theory, even if valid, is valid only as an abstraction: it describes only one social cause among many, and it can be applied to concrete cases only when it is complemented by other abstract theories.

The practical implications of this theory, if valid, are obvious. After a certain stage in his development, a child can be urged—with the aid of a trauma, if necessary—to evaluate his past development and to plan

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[1] J. M. Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1895; William James, *The Principles of Psychology,* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1890; C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order,* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902; G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. The conception of the social self developed by these authors stresses how "other persons, by their manifest behavior toward an individual, define for him his conception of himself." They pay little attention to self-direction in the development of a conception of self.

out his future development. With the aid of certain factual information concerning society's expectations and offerings and concerning psychological influences known to science, the youth can learn "to see things straight." A certain amount of emotion, transference, abreaction and/or self-conversion probably has to accompany this process.[2] But much of the process itself is rational, not strictly emotional and irrational as most other theories of child development would have it be.

If the theory is valid, what can happen to the youth can also happen to any sane, intelligent adult. It is one implication of the theory—an implication that sets it off from many other theories of child development and one that can be tested empirically—that there can be a fundamental redirection of life expectations and other psychic activity at almost any age. Character and emotional development is thus not something limited to the child, but occurs throughout life. The theory would help to explain observed facts about the behavioral changes and accompanying mental crises which occur at all periods of life, but especially at entrance into adulthood, entrance into old age (the menopause crisis in women), and realization that death is approaching shortly.

There are possibilities of testing this theory by observation and experimentation. For individuals a minute description may be made of periods of crisis and observations recorded as to marked changes in behavior and orientation. Some psychoanalytic records already collected would serve admirably to provide information as to what goes on during a personal crisis. Youths and adults may be experimented with by instigating minor crises and periods of self-investigation. It would probably be an essential part of such an experiment to inform the subject of the nature of the experiment. For the mass of the people, periods of swift change in popular ideology can be investigated historically, and current crises—provided by war, economic dislocation, sudden redistribution of power from individuals to government—may be observed.

The general hypothesis presented offers, of course, the possibility of setting up an indefinite number of auxiliary hypotheses, and these can be tested with specific empirical data. Such hypotheses would deal with the nature and degree of the redirection, the most effective techniques of stimulating and molding it, the situations and personality types most susceptible to it, and so on. It is likely that folklore and folk literature would provide many fruitful specific hypotheses, since it is the source of

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[2] The terms *transference* and *abreaction* are used in the technical sense of the psychoanalysts. The best summary reference on psychoanalytic terminology is probably that of Otto Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis,* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1945.

the general hypothesis. While scientists have long known that folklore cannot be trusted, that it is a source of many serious errors in popular thinking, and that it contains many self-contradictions, nevertheless it is also the repository of centuries of observation, some of which is acute and penetrating. Thus it should be a fruitful source of hypotheses which are deserving of scientific testing on empirical data.[3]

To return to the central theory, we may note some of its concrete suggestions for child guidance if further research should support it. Certainly one of the weaknesses of the psychoanalysts' discoveries about children's problems is that most of the observations, on which the discoveries are based, are from seriously neurotic children. All children have problems—sibling-rivalry, insufficient attention from adults, difficulties in adjustment to playmates and new situations—and under the stress of these they act fairly neurotically. Yet for most children—excluding many of those under observation by the analysts—the "neuroses" are not deep. Their solution requires no emotional abreaction or transference. Children with problems—like all children—need support and permissiveness from parents, of course. But after the age of four or five they can be found able to solve many of their own problems with the rational presentation of alternatives.

Case 1. A boy of five, noticeably short for his age, reacted to the slightest frustrations by crying, screaming, lying on the floor, and denouncing the world. His extreme sensitivity to frustration, caused by inabilities in controlling the physical world as well as by failure to find complete submissiveness from adults and child companions, made each day an almost complete round of storm and stress. Easily this earned him the appellation of "cry-baby" from the other children, and this was coupled with his shortness to make the external world a constant attacker of his ego. His reaction was both to withdraw from and to strike back at his companions. A crisis came when he started kindergarten. The task of finding a partner to walk into the school building with him proved too much and going to school became the regular

[3] Some of the analysts have, of course, drawn upon folk literature not only for hypotheses but also for supportive evidence. The reader needs no reminder that the Oedipus complex gets more than its name from Sophocles' drama and that *Hamlet* is only one of a long series of dramas, epics, lyrics, etc., which have been considered worthy of detailed analysis by Freud and his followers. One of the most important of the contributions of the psychoanalysts to the theory of rearing mentally healthy children is that the parents' attitude toward the child should be permissive rather than repressive, affectionate rather than severe. This happens also to be good folklore among most Negroes and members of certain immigrant groups who have never had any contact with the schools of academic psychology.

occasion for an especially severe outburst. He complained of pains while on his way to school. It was then decided to have a thorough talk with him. The purpose of the talk was twofold: (a) to indicate to him that affection and support were constantly available to help him, and evidences of this were called to his attention; (b) to analyze for him—in the simplest of terms, of course—what the factors were that were causing his problems and what seemed to be the best solution for him. His companions' reaction to his crying and the need to avoid annoying them constantly were called to his attention, as well as his oversensitiveness and the possibility of ignoring petty frustrations. His shyness and pains were shown as common problems shared with other children and even adults. He thought hard over these things, and thereafter when frustrations seemed about to make him revert to his usual pattern, an encouraging and sympathetic reminder was provided as to how he could best meet the situation. Within a month there was noticeable improvement: he went to school without difficulty and even took a scolding from the teacher with equanimity, he was getting along quite satisfactorily with his playmates, and his negative reactions to home frustrations declined.

Case 2. A girl of four had one older sister (6 years old) when a baby brother came into the household. Although the parents made great efforts to show no partiality between the two girls, there was a competitive rivalry between them. The younger one had managed to hold her own, although with some difficulty, because she was brighter and prettier than the older one. When the older girl started school, the younger one felt a distinction had been made with which she could not cope. The new baby in the household was another threat, especially serious, since she could not compete with or attack him openly. She began to dominate her playmates, to hit them, to throw tantrums without provocation, to complain of stomach aches (shortly before, she actually had a stomach ache and had received a good deal of attention because of it), and to be aggressively affectionate toward the baby (occasionally hurting it). It was then decided to try a supportive affectionate talk with her. The facts pointed out to her were that her siblings were there to stay, that she had attained a high level of achievement for a four-year-old but obviously could not do all the things her older sister could do, that when they became grown up the two years of difference between the sisters would mean nothing, that the baby obviously required more attention, although no more affection than herself, that dominating the other

children made them dislike her. Although thinking through complex facts like these was difficult even for a bright four-year-old, she did it and her neurotic symptoms diminished.

In both these cases the implied cause-and-effect relationship of therapy and improvement is certainly oversimplified. Other factors were undoubtedly acting at the same time, the children were "growing" out of their problems, and little value can be attached to the observation of only two cases. Nevertheless, it is still true, for these two cases, that a long-drawn-out treatment for "disturbed" or "neurotic" children might only have prolonged the problems. Or, left ignored, the chronic frustrations might have formed a series of minor trauma that could have led to a full-fledged neurosis by the time the child reached adolescence.[4] Instead, the assumption was made that the child was capable of grasping the situation realistically, of thinking through the alternatives, and of working through to the solution of his problems himself.[5] Obviously, this could not happen to a child under the age of four, nor could it apply to a child whose disturbances stemmed from the first few months of life. But it does seem to apply to a child who, at the age of four or later, develops a "problem" which is not deep seated but which represents a typical childhood frustration. In this type of case—which is obviously much more common than the deep-seated problem or seriously disturbed child—a therapy which is based on a knowledge of how to treat the truly neurotic type of child is not necessarily the best approach. Transference therapy, advocated by some analysts, would be particularly out of place.

Similar observations might also apply in treating the psychological problems of adolescents and adults. To observe a few symptoms by which an ordinary person reacts to a problem situation and note their similarity

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[4] These two points have already been made by the analysts of the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis. See Franz Alexander, Thomas M. French, *et al.*, *Psychoanalytic Therapy*, New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1946.

[5] Carl Rogers also emphasizes the need for a short therapy that will involve the individual in working out his own solution. But, whereas Rogers' technique is the nondirective interview, we are here suggesting a highly directive interview. The nondirective approach would seem to be superior where the problem is deep seated. See Carl Rogers, *Counselling and Psychotherapy*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942. Somewhat closer to our point of view has been that of the group therapists, who have allowed their techniques to develop by experience. Their excellent therapy is distinguished from the suggestion presented in this paper by being a group activity, rather than an individual interview, and it is less directive than ours. See, for example, S. R. Slavson, *An Introduction to Group Therapy*, New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1943, and Gisela Konopka, *Therapeutic Group Work with Children*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949.

to those manifested by a psychotic individual is an interesting psychological experience. But then to call such a person a "schizoid" or a "paranoid" is to let analogy determine facts and to point the way to an inappropriate therapy. Schizophrenia and paranoia are psychotic reactions, and persons suffering from them are not capable of communicating rationally with themselves or with anyone else. At the present stage of knowledge, many of them cannot be cured, and if there is to be a cure only the psychiatrist can help them. But the milder neurotic reactions to ordinary frustration can much more easily be eliminated, and the psychiatrist—or any other adviser, or the person himself—perhaps can make best use of the normal human power to solve problems and to communicate rationally with oneself. At least, it is a hypothesis worth further exploration.

TOWARD A SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY OF ETHICS

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Man, who is a creature and creator of many groups and institutions, develops and expresses his highly intellectualized moral personality and character in and through his many roles, positions, and statuses in society, imposing a certain order and organization of his inner life—faith, reason, norm, and ideal. Between his conscience and moral sensibility and group values and institutional norms there is constant interpenetration in the total culture. His desires, conscience, and ideals, and his forms of social control, myths, and symbol patterns cannot be treated separately. The more ethics relates right and wrong, the patterns of rights and duties, symbols, imperatives, and norms to the dynamics of group integration and participation and the depth-level of man's personality, all reciprocally interdependent, the more does it come in line with modern scientific humanism and to close grips with the present chaos in morals and culture.

The quality of moral life and experience, the depth and integration of self as well as morals or participation in group endeavor undergo a marked improvement as we proceed from the nexus of Reciprocity in the Interest-group to the relationship of Equity and Justice in the Society or Community and that of Communion, Love, and Sharing in the abstract Commonalty. As the self-contained individuality is "lost" or absorbed in the Commonalty (whether the family, the church, the nation in crisis, or the community of humanity), the universal nonself matrix of selfhood, new types of relations with fellow men and with the cosmos emerge. Such are the moral transformation and enrichment of personality that schools of mysticism and socialism equally emphasize.

Man's cultural progress enables him to cross the boundaries of time and space and establish his harmony with the principles of order in the cosmos; and yet modern psychology and ethics largely treat him as if he were only a time-and-space-bound creature. The scientific method here, as underlined in the contrast between evolutionary and cultural studies, belies its material and shows insufficiency. Max Scheler aptly observes:

In no other period of human knowledge has man become more problematic to himself than in our own days. We have a scientific or philosophical and a

theological anthropology that know nothing of each other. Therefore we no longer possess any clear and consistent idea of man.[1]
This idea we have to fashion and acquire.

We have now to discover man as a creative, symbolizing, evaluative person whose nature and conduct could no longer be artificially segmented and segregated by our scientific and social studies into biological, economic, moral, aesthetic, or religious ones. It is only in the case of the modern Western man that we find—as the result of the trends of naturalism and humanism—rationalism and modes of empirical thought invading the domain of ritual, law, religion, and morals. Most cultures still get on through relegating a large part of human life and conduct to myth, religion, and morals. The very term *morals* indicates its affiliation with mores or folkways and customs which, not rational skills and techniques, are considered as defining right conduct. Rituals, ceremonies, and other forms of symbolic behavior are essential mechanisms of proper and good conduct in most cultures. These give a mystic or supernatural justification to both routine and special behavior and invest the latter with rich meanings, significances, and values in terms of a beyond-human ideology of an exceedingly complex total social pattern. For a considerable part of civilized humanity ritualistic and symbolic behavior related to metaphysical understandings and values indeed provides the pattern of adjustment to the commonplace situations and crises in life, although underlying it there is usually a core of definite, utilitarian social function. The advantage is that man's goals and routine of social action are largely oriented in the light of his participation in a cosmic moral and ritual order and dimension of being that stands over and above the frustrations and fulfillments of life and introjects such certitude, disinterestedness, and sensitiveness in human conduct as are the very soul of ethical life. Morality from this viewpoint is a reflection of man's contact with the inner order of the universe that establishes both stability and well-being of the community and self-enhancement and detachment of the individual.

We have also to rediscover society which is not a mere aggregate of individuals bound together by the herd impulse, by the sense of fear and insecurity, or by contractual ties engendered in the compounding of man's egotistic interests. Society is not some kind of superimposition on the scene of the human animal for taming his egoism and selfishness for social living nor a mass organization demanding a rigid conformity for his moral perfection. Man is no mere "political animal." He is a

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[1] Quoted in Cassirer: *An Essay on Man.*

striving, aspiring creature whose values and aspirations are not circum-
scribed by society, still less by the state. These send forth their groping
tendrils of appropriation and fulfillment to realms and dimensions
that neither politics nor law can picture. Yet for many of his major
values he indeed depends upon definition, manner, and conditions of
fulfillment upon society. Man no doubt is deeply embedded and molded
in the matrix of society. He absorbs, conserves, communicates, and
bequeaths society. But he also embellishes, enriches, and deepens it.
Society is a changing medium of creation and expression of his deep-
seated desires, values, and aspirations. It defines and shapes man's social
nature, conscience, and morals, as he also constantly and insistently
projects into society his own values and experiences from the depth
of his consciousness where he is alone and unique. Man is thus a dual
mirror of society and of the larger cosmos to which he belongs. He has a
feeling of utter loneliness in isolation and of profound exaltation in his
loyalty to his group even to the degree of self-immolation. At the same
time, his impulses and obligations to a more total world of order reveal
the true nature of himself, of society, and of the cosmos, alike.

As there is effective assimilation of the separate scientific methods and
outlooks in respect of man and his social integration and development,
the faith in the laws of physical universe strengthens the analogous but
profounder faith in the ethical values of human personality and the
dialectic of human communion—the "laws" of the social universe, the
spiritual realities and processes of the universal man and the universal
community. These "laws" or "imperatives" bring balance and harmony
between the individual's finite desires and reason, between moral intuition
and concrete achievement, between happiness and self-realization in the
universal social community. Such faith rediscovers the norms of the
universal man and society and redefines the ideal of human progress.

Against the limitation and inequality of his roles, capacities, and
rewards, inevitable in any society, which the various sciences unravel
but cannot redress, ethics postulates the metaphysical equality and
universality of the human person. Accordingly, justice, sharing, and
service, as the ultimate and eternal values embodied in every human
relation, seek to conquer the imperfections, inequalities, and conflicts of
man.

Scientific socialism formulates the norm of equalization thus: "From
each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." But
the Socialist Revolution, dominated by the more scientific outlook,

identifies material with spiritual values, and the regimentation that comes in its wake destroys many of the higher values of personality. Royce observes:

Ethical individualism has been in fact one great foe of the Great Community. Ethical individualism whether it takes the form of democracy or of the irresponsible search on the part of the individual for private happiness or for any other merely individual good will never save mankind. . . . Equally useless, however, for the attainment of humanity's great end would be any form of merely ethical collectivism.

The antithesis between ethical individualism and ethical collectivism that today forebodes a global armed conflict cannot be resolved except by the interpenetration of personal and social selves that rests on the right ordering of the values of life and of the spiritual dimensions of personality, society, humanity, and universe. Not only a proper scaling of biological, economic, and spiritual values but also an identification of the individual, personal values with the common universal values is essential for the renovation of humanity.

Such is the moral process by which individuals, groups, and nations can transform themselves and their mutual relations, accepting the economic, political, and moral imperatives of the Universal Man and the Universal Community—the norms of "each for all," "all for each," and "all with all." Ethics, politics, and law—all will have to collaborate in the establishment of equal participation of all in the universal values of life in democratic, humanitarian Commonalty. This in the twentieth century is coextensive with mankind, economically and technologically welded into one system, but sharply divided ideologically, emotionally, and politically into nations and blocs. From such a moral ideal stem the rights, now being articulated, of the citizen or the common man of "one world" to the basic goods of civilization that can be implemented by the international or universal state.

It is the task of ethics to formulate in contemporary culture a universalist morality appropriate for world security, cooperation, and citizenship. Moral norms need definition and elucidation today in terms of what the sage, the poet, or the saint experiences as mystical communion or sharing, what the psychologist and psychoanalyst define as integrated, poised selfhood or personality, what the academic social scientist prophesies as the solidarity of the human species, and what the U.N. exhorts in the name of justice, peace, and progress in the affairs of the nations. The ethic which, in Aristotle's words, "promotes good conduct by discovering and explaining the mark at which all things aim," comprises the same basic principles of comprehension,

knowledge, and love arrived at by the intuition and dialectic of the mystic, by psychoanalysis and resolution of inner tensions in the clinic, by the empirical study of the structuring of society, values, and self by the social scientists, and by collective discussion and judgment in the international bodies.

Ethics cannot be separated from politics or from law, nor from any other sector of human endeavor. In fact, both politics and law are hand-maids of ethics. Politics through the formulation and implementation of human rights offers individuals opportunities for, and removes hindrances to, fulfillment of the major values of life. Law protects and augments all values and subordinates the lower to the higher. It reconciles duties with rights, freedom with power, and merit with equality. All inter-personal relations become through the mechanisms of custom, law, and government vehicles of expression of the abundant, perfect life. Religion now comes into the picture with its definition of the social character of human perfection, linked with the infinite and the universal, and its certitude of realization of this perfection in everyday living, notwith-standing man's finiteness and frustration. Ethics is inextricably inter-meshed in all human activities and relations, searching for and establish-ing perfect relations in the concrete structure of society.

The opposition between morality and law (as the ethical minimum), between morality and religion (as ethically neutral or transcendent), and between morality and cosmic evolutionary progress is as untenable as the attempt to isolate the ethical nature of man's conscience and create the dilemma between individual and social ethics. For man is an integral whole as the carrier of values of different dimensions. The creative unity and organicity of his moral, religious, economic, and political life can-not be ignored without a travesty of human nature and conduct, and demand the close, intimate interweaving of politics, economics, ethics, and religion to deal with the interrelatedness of human values and experience.

Man as he strives to obtain the best out of life and society, both quantitatively and qualitatively, merges the inner and the outer, the microcosm and the macrocosm. This fusion continually enlarges itself in human experience. As the free self-directing microcosm, man bends the forces of nature, the unconscious macrocosm, to his will and direction by the eternal and ultimate values that now take charge of cosmic evolutionary advance and act as its focus and measure alike. He persist-ently builds up the microcosm and macrocosm into a larger and more harmonious working unity with a yet nobler quality of moral aspiration,

understanding, and love. Out of this intellectual and emotional harmony arises ethical faith that is to be clearly distinguished from belief in certain doctrines or symbols. Moral faith is the highest expression in the character structure of genuine, creative adventure and experience when all psychic tension, phobia, doubt, illusion, and wishful thinking are completely resolved and rational vision or insight, firm, unswerving will for service and sharing, and self-transcending universal compassion take their place. For three decades man has envisioned his oneness with the whole of mankind and some kind of political unification of the globe. In the preamble to the constitution of the UNESCO, which is devoted to the harnessing of science, education, and culture for the maintenance of world peace, we read that

a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world; the peace must, therefore, be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

For the first time in the history of the race the social destiny of universal humanity has come to the fore in his intellectual and moral conscience. With his new perception of the reality of the universal man, he seeks to apply the one irrefragable law of universal truth, justice, and love on a global scale. This is the new moral imperative of the century. Cannot the upbringing and education of children and inculcation of a general ethicoreligious code of amity and nonviolence produce in the coming generation the same strong emotional sense of absolute wrongness about national bullying, blackmailing, and aggressiveness as the present generation feels toward individual aggressiveness, deceit, and cruelty? The mechanism may be irrational but can be rationally used by ethics for the promotion of the system of values that humanity needs in this present epoch for its very existence. This is more essential in the movement toward univeralism, toward world security, later on toward world cooperation, and finally toward world government than the elaboration of any framework of international treaties. The discoveries in the psychological techniques of education and evocation, such as the use of emotionally loaded myths and symbols and policy designs, offer immeasurable opportunities for molding human nature and character. In the coming profound transformation of individuals and nations and achievement of a global social democracy, ethics will play a significant role by abandoning its autonomy, rooted in the older inadequate, intellectualistic psychology and sociology, and becoming an integral part of the general education and experience of humanity.

Harnessing his vast noumenal energy, ethics will establish the unity of man, the microcosm, and of man, the macrocosm, in the justice, peace, and progress of the world order, and direct his life, his humanity, and his global society to their manifold powers and possibilities. If ethics cannot recover from its pusillanimity in this atomic age, the world that is technically one but racially and politically divided will be, in the words of Kant, "the graveyard of the human race." Recovering and fortifying itself, modern ethics like the ancient ethics of India and Israel will be prophetic, giving the soul-stirring Bodhisattvan, Avatarist, and Messianic promise of "a new heaven and a new earth," and will inaugurate a decisive phase in the moral and spiritual advance of humanity.

FILMS FOR USE IN
INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY

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The motion picture is an important part of American life. It has invaded the theaters as an entertainer and the schools as a teacher. For the sociologist the development of such a pervasive means of mass communication is of great interest. The medium offers both a fascinating field for study and an effective way to pass on sociological insight to students and laymen.

If the teaching uses of motion pictures have been neglected by sociologists, it is probably because of the difficulty in discovering and obtaining suitable films. There has been a growing recognition of the value of audio-visual aids in teaching; more and more facilities for showing pictures are becoming available in colleges and universities.[1] An instructor who wants illustrative material for his class, however, is still faced with the problem of choosing a film from the thousands listed in the various catalogs.[2]

The list that follows has been prepared as an aid in the selection of films for use in introductory sociology. The items included are those which seem most apt to give vividness and meaning to basic concepts. It should be borne in mind that very few motion pictures have been made with college sociology expressly in view. Nearly all of those listed here will need some adaptation to classroom needs. It should also be pointed out that the descriptions given are based for the most part on published sources rather than review of the films themselves. Users are urged to preview the pictures before presentation to make sure of their suitability for the purpose intended.

Before a film is shown, the class should be prepared for it. The picture may be used to introduce some aspect of sociology, to illustrate a concept, or to sum up a study unit. In any of these circumstances, it is important that the students be aware of the purpose of the showing

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[1] For information on how to choose and where to get motion picture and other audio-visual equipment, see Ellsworth C. Dent, *The Audio-Visual Handbook,* Chicago: Society for Visual Education, 1946.

[2] The most inclusive catalog is *Educational Film Guide,* New York: H. W. Wilson Company, annual. Particularly helpful among the many others are *Selected Educational Motion Pictures,* American Council on Education, Committee on Motion Pictures in Education, 1942, and *1,000 and One:* the Blue Book of Non-Theatrical Films, Chicago: Educational Screen, Inc., 1948.

and focus their attention on the sociological aspects of what they see. It is well for the instructor to mention beforehand particular points to look for and to set up a problem that the film can help solve.

After the showing, the film should be discussed by the class in terms of the problem before them. Has new information or a new viewpoint been brought out? What concepts have been illustrated? What further study is needed?

Very often there will be disagreements as to what was shown. Some of the important points may have been missed or not clearly remembered. In these cases it is worth while to show the picture again. The class discussion will have set the stage for even greater attention to the film's message than was given the first time.

Including questions on the film in a quiz or examination may also serve to increase the importance in the eyes of the student of the material presented.[3]

Films are, of course, only an aid to, and not a substitute for, the instructor. They should be used only when they are the most effective means of putting across a point. Motion pictures are very effective for many purposes. They compel attention, even of a large group; they give a vivid record of past or distant events; they illustrate time relationships such as motion, change, or process; they can show by special photography things otherwise nonvisible; and they are able to indicate relationships between things, ideas, and events.[4]

The following are all sixteen-millimeter black-and-white sound films except where otherwise noted. After each title are given the date of release, showing time in minutes, an abbreviation for the principal distributor, and the name of the producer where that is of particular interest. Distributors are given in full at the end of the list. For a complete directory of state and local sources for the films see *Educational Film Guide*.[5]

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[3] For more detailed suggestions on film teaching techniques see one of the current textbooks on audio-visual aids, such as Edgar Dale, *Audio-Visual Methods of Teaching*, New York: Dryden Press, 1946.

[4] Gloria Waldron's *The Information Film*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, gives a well-rounded discussion of the problems and potentialities of serious films and contains an excellent bibliography of books, catalogs, and periodicals in this field.

[5] *Op. cit.*

LIST OF FILMS

The Individual and Society

1. "Early Social Behavior," 1934, 11 min., EBF. Arnold Gesell, Yale University. Children, eight weeks to seven years old, in various social settings; relations with parents, brothers and sisters, and adults.

2. "Children Growing up with Others," 1948, 30 min., UWF. British Ministry of Information. Children become less dependent and more self-reliant in family, school, and other groups.

3. "The Devil Is a Sissy" (gang sequence), 13 min., TFC. From an MGM feature. The social adjustments of an English boy who enters school in an American slum and his gradual acceptance by the group.

4. "Good Earth" (woman sequence), 18 min., TFC. From an MGM feature. The roles and status of women in China.

5. "Role Playing in Human Relations," 1950, 25 min., NEA. National Training Laboratory for Group Development. How to use the method of role playing in problem-solving situations.

6. "Life with Grandpa," 1949, 17 min., MOT. The problems of old age.

The Family

7. "You and Your Family," 1946, 8 min., Assn. YMCA and *Look* magazine. Presents for discussion several alternative solutions to family problems—parental consent for dating, family chores, coming in late at night. Juvenile approach but good for discussion.

8. "You and Your Parents," 1950, 12 min., Coronet. Color optional. The need for freedom and responsibility for children on the basis of their maturity; the importance of understanding between parents and children.

9. "Family Teamwork," 1947, 18 min., color, Frith. Gives examples of spontaneity, respect, affection, and cooperation between children and parents (of the high middle class).

10. "Fitness Is a Family Affair," 1948, 19 min., Brandon. Contrasts families with and without unity; gives an example of community cooperation. Realistic.

11. "Families First," 1948, 17 min., NYSDC. Made by RKO. Contrasts everyday episodes from two families, one showing tension and frustration, the other harmonious personality adjustment.

12. "Wife, Doctor, Nurse," 21 min., NYU. The problem of jealousy in marital relations.

13. "Courtship to Courthouse," 15 min., RKO. Problems of marriage and divorce; indicates effects of environment and of impulsiveness.

14. "Marriage and Divorce," 1949, 15 min., MOT. Presents the problem of broken homes and gives the ideas of a number of experts on what should be done.

15. "Wednesday's Child," 9 min., RKO. Problems of the child of divorced parents.

Social Organization

16. "The Picture in Your Mind," 1949, 17 min., color, IFF. Presents a theory of evolution from the primeval waters to the present; suggests the need for control of man's evil instincts; shows communal groups held together by fear and suspicion of outsiders. Emotional but mature and artistic.

Primary Groups

17. "Maria Chapdelaine," 1946, 95 min., Brandon. Shows life in a French Canadian farming community; emphasizes manners and traditions.

18. "Tomorrow Is a Wonderful Day," 1949, 45 min., Hadassah. A Jewish boy goes from a concentration camp to the primary group atmosphere, where he is "transformed by love and kindness."

The Community

19. "Lessons in Living," 1945, 22 min., Brandon. The change in a British Columbia community as various nationalities and industries come in; the role of the school and local groups in shaping the community environment.

20. "Hometown, U.S.A.," 1945, 20 min., Assn. Color optional. A pleasant picture of American small town life; also brings in some faults.

Rural and Urban Areas

21. "Rural Dwellers in Temperate Countries," 1939, 9 min., sound or silent, EPS. Influence of temperate climate on the manner of life, sources of food, and social characteristics of people.

22. "Urban Dwellers in Temperate Countries," 1939, 9 min., sound or silent, EPS. Shows typical places in the U.S., Canada, and Europe.

23. "Farmers of Japan," 20 min., USDA. Use of ancient methods of farming, the beginnings of cooperatives for acquiring machinery and modern methods.

24. "The City," 1939, 30 min., MMA. Scenes of idyllic life on the land, with a quick switch to the smoke, traffic, confusion, and regimentation of the city (New York), ending with a look at the planned order and peace of a Greenbelt community.

25. "This Is Tomorrow," 10 min., TFC. Produced by MGM. Recasts the material of "The City," showing the objectives of construction of model homes and work centers.

26. "Growth of Cities," 1942, 11 min., EBF. Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University. Types of cities and city plans. Factors in the growth of suburbs, decentralization.

27. "Cities: Why They Grow," 1949, 10 min., color, Coronet. Shows our increasing urban population and how cities grow.

28. "New York Parade," 10 min., TFC. Points out the casual relationships and secondary contacts in a large city. Good for contrast with the films in the primary group.

29. "Street of Shadows," 1948, 16 min., RKO. Shows the intermingling of virtue and vice, poverty and wealth, gayety and misery on the Bowery in New York.

30. "The Urban Community in America," 45 min. Department of Sociology, University of Illinois. Shows scenes of Midwestern cities to illustrate urban life.

Technology

31. "Machine, Master or Slave," 1941, 14 min., NYU. The human and financial problems involved in technological progress.

32. "The Development of Transportation," 1935, 10 min., EBF. Shows the progressive elimination of natural, social, and economic barriers in the United States and our dependence upon means of transport.

33. "The Story of Communication," 1947, 22 min., Films. Made by Twentieth Century-Fox. The conquest of space and time by the improvement of means of transmitting thoughts and messages; the part electric energy plays in the modern world.

34. "Inventions," 1947, 22 min., Films. The history of the typewriter, camera, and phonograph; discusses what makes certain inventions successful and others not.

35. "Valley Town," 1940, 27 min., NYU. How machines made and then broke a boom town; the effects on men and their families.

Culture

36. "The Town," 1945, 20 min., Brandon. Office of War Information. Points out the relation of American customs (as found in Madison, Wisconsin) to the rest of the world.

37. "String of Beads," 1948, 20 min., UWF. Family life and customs on plantations of Assam.

38. "India, Asia's New Voice," 1949, 17 min., MOT. The life of Brahmans is contrasted with that of Untouchables; problems of new industry and agriculture are brought out.

39. "Peiping Family," 1948, 21 min., IFF. An American-educated Chinese struggles to provide for his large family and have his eldest daughter educated; shows the breaking down of superstition.

Race and Ethnic Groups

40. "Boundary Lines," 1947, 10 min., color, animated, IFF. Shows artificial demarcations between human beings leading to conflicts. The picture is outstanding from the standpoint of art and music; the appeal is to emotion more than to intellect.

41. "Brotherhood of Man," 1946, 10 min., color, Brandon. United Auto Workers, CIO. Based on Ruth Benedict's *Races of Mankind*. Excellent springboard for discussion of race.

42. "Of These Our People," 1949, 20 min., Brandon. The story of the Jews in the United States.

43. "Color of a Man," 1946, 18 min., IFF. Congregational churches. The story of discrimination in the South.

44. "Whoever You Are," 1946, 20 min., Flm Pgm. A New York neighborhood solves its racial problems.

Social Control

45. "Law and Social Controls," 1949, 10 min., Coronet. School of Education, Indiana University. Explains customs, moral codes, and laws on the local, state, and national level.

46. "Political Parties," 1947, Coronet. Dr. J. D. Kingsley, Antioch College. Suggests how United States political parties can be made to serve the will of the people.

47. "Two Views on Socialism," 1950, 15 min., Coronet. A "film of opinion": the differences between socialism and capitalism are presented by the proponents of each to aid in the understanding of the arguments on both sides of the question.

Public Opinion and Propaganda

48. "Does It Matter What You Think?" 1947, 15 min., BIS. How public opinion is formed and influenced; how it can be used. (British accent)

49. "Public Opinion," 1946, 11 min., EBF. Harold D. Lasswell. How public opinion is formed and what it can accomplish.

50. "Propaganda Techniques," 1949, 10 min., Coronet. Color optional. An analysis of whether an election victory was due to propaganda, showing methods.

Delinquency

51. "Who's Delinquent?" 1949, 16 min., RKO. A newspaper investigates delinquency; townspeople meet and discuss means of improvement.

52. "A Criminal Is Born," 20 min., TFC. Produced by MGM. Parental neglect leads children into delinquency; they pay the price.

53. "The Devil Is a Sissy" (juvenile court sequence), 16 min., TFC. Made by MGM. Shows the loyalty of boys to each other; the reaction of the parents.

Science

54. "What Is Science?" 1947, 10 min., Coronet. Color optional. N. E. Bingham, Northwestern University. Shows the major steps in the scientific method: curiosity, observation, hypothesis, test, and conclusions.

55. "Science and Superstition," 1947, 10 min., Coronet. Color optional. Ira C. Davis, University of Wisconsin. Distinguishes between superstition and fact; shows the benefits of sound research and reasoning.

Statistics

56. "Language of Graphs," 1948, 12 min., Coronet. Color optional. Department of Mathematics, Miami University. Discusses school newspaper circulation using bar, line, circle, and equation graphs to show relationships and comparisons. Elementary.

KEY TO DISTRIBUTORS

For state and local representatives of these distributors see *Educational Film Guide.*

Assn— Association Films, Inc. (YMCA), 35 W. 45th St., New York 19.

BIS—British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

Brandon—Brandon Films, Inc., 1700 Broadway, New York 19.

Coronet—Coronet Instructional Films, 65 E. South Water St., Chicago 1.

EBF—Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, Illinois.

Films—Films, Inc., 330 W. 42nd St., New York 18.

Flm Pgm—Film Program Services, 1173 6th Ave., New York 19.

Frith—Frith Films, 840 Seward St., Hollywood 38, California.

Hadassah—Hadassah Film Library, 13 E. 37th St., New York 16.

IFF—International Film Foundation, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York 19.

MMA—Museum of Modern Art Film Library, 11 W. 53rd St., New York 19.

MOT—March of Time Forum Films, 369 Lexington Ave., New York 17.

NYSDC—New York State Department of Commerce Film Library, 40 Howard St., Albany 1, New York.

NYU—New York University Film Library, 26 Washington Pl., New York 3.

RKO—RKO-Radio Pictures, Inc., 1270 6th Ave., New York 30.

USDA—United States Department of Agriculture Motion Picture Service, Office of Information, Washington 25, D.C.

UWF—United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., New York 26.

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES OF
ECONOMICALLY PRIVILEGED CHILDREN

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This paper presents the results of study of the recreational and leisure time activities of a select group of economically privileged children. As wealth, income, and standards of living influence the extent and degree of participation in a variety of pursuits, it is reasonable to assume that patterns of recreational behavior in the upper-class levels will differ in part from other segments of our class hierarchy. Differences are likely to occur in the variety and degree of participation in recreational activities. The standard-of-living concept is differentiated from the level of living in that as a social form of behavior it is a component part of the family institution, recognizable as a group product because of its recognition, desirableness, and continuity. Level of living, on the other hand, is that economic base upon which the family unit actually operates regardless of cultural enforcement.

Whether the standard of living is predetermined by the level of living or not, it is understood that the individual's socioeconomic class position will in some measure influence his use of leisure time, the number of activities engaged in, and the variety of recreational facilities utilized.

What then are the recreational activities of a group of economically privileged children? How much leisure time do they have? In what activities do they participate? And to what extent are these activities defined by the prevailing class position? It is with these questions that the writer is essentially concerned.

The school selected for the study was a private day school located in Erie, Pennsylvania. The number of students studied totaled 68. The group was distributed throughout the lower, middle, and upper schools. Ages for the group ranged from 6 to 14 years. Children were about equally distributed by sex.

The school is privately owned by a parent organization and is operated by them through a board of directors. The staff consists of seven members. The student body comes from the economically privileged community; that is, they are children of leading manufacturers, executives, and administrators.

In order that proper categories of the children's activities might be included in the questionnaire a preliminary inquiry was made through their parents. From these comments, suggestions, and interpretative facts the basic testing instrument was developed.

Information was secured concerning children's use of leisure time and the kinds of activities participated in. These included movies, radio listening, reading comics, and the utilization of certain organized resources within the community itself. Children were further questioned regarding their participation in active and passive sports, the number of days lost due to out-of-town excursions and vacation trips, the hours of retiring, the people with whom they ate meals, and the people to whom they took their "troubles." Such items as school days lost were later checked with school records to insure accuracy.

All items were carefully explained to the group, with sufficient time provided for the child's understanding, computation, and answers. With smaller children, help was given in computing necessary weekly averages.

The range of activities participated in included dramatic lessons, art classes, ceramic lessons, dancing groups, as well as organized activities which included the choir, YMCA, and comparable groups. Children were also asked to tell whether they liked the activity or not. This would show to some degree the influence of parental pressure.

Occasional reference is made to "younger" and "older" children in the text of the material. The age arbitrarily decided upon was 10 years, inasmuch as the general total environment in the school was changed upon the transfer of the child from the middle to the upper school. In other words, the "younger" children referred to are those who are less than 10 years of age and who are generally in the lower and middle school. In no case was a ten-year-old a member of the upper school. On the other hand, the "older" children are those of the upper school generally, with a few, older than 10 years, still members of the middle school.

In a distribution of the total number of hours spent per week in six "cultural" activities it was found that more students were engaged in dancing lessons than in any other activity, making up 85.4 per cent of the total group; the next highest group was that participating in music lessons, with 53.0 per cent; choir, dramatics, art lessons, and ceramics followed in that order. It should be remembered that the hours quoted for all of the six activities are numbers of hours devoted *each* week to the activity.

Of the group taking dancing lessons, with a teacher who was imported from New York City, it was found that 93.4 per cent spent only 1 hour each week in this activity. The remainder spent 2 hours a week. When asked whether they liked their dancing lessons, 70 per cent voiced disapproval.

Although fewer children took music lessons, those who did spent a great deal more time in practice than was expected. Almost 34 per cent of this group spent at least 5 hours each week in practice and in taking their formal lesson. This group was followed by those who spent only 2 hours a week (22.3 per cent). The group who spent 1 hour a week accounted for 16.8 per cent of the group, with 5.5 per cent spending 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8 hours a week respectively. Music lessons, by the way, included all types of instrumental instruction, but did not include voice. Ninety-five per cent of those children taking lessons liked the idea. Not only did more of the younger children participate, but they also spent longer hours in practice than the older children. Perhaps the older student had a greater variety of interests which took more of his time, or possibly the older child had learned certain techniques which would provide an escape from such an effort. This may not be true, however, since the majority of the group taking lessons liked them.

Singing in choirs followed in terms of total numbers of children participating. Sixty per cent of the group which both sang and took formal choir lessons spent 1 hour a week in formal training and lessons. This group was followed by 30.0 per cent who spent 2 hours. Ten per cent of the vocal group spent three hours a week in lessons.

While only twelve students, or 17.6 per cent of the total group, engaged in dramatic activities, 50.0 per cent spent 1 hour a week in lessons. Others in the group spent from 6 to 8 hours in practice.

All of the children taking art and ceramic lessons spent one hour a week in that particular area.

Of the group taking dramatic lessons, only one child disliked the effort. All children participating in art classes approved of their work, and all of the group engaged in ceramics liked the activity. Almost three fourths of those taking choir and vocal lessons liked doing so.

All children indicated listening regularly to the radio. Estimates for listening were based on daily listening in some cases to a total number of hours per week. The largest group (35.4 per cent) listened to the radio on an average of 11 hours a week. This group was followed by those (17.7 per cent) who listened 6 hours a week. Other hourly categories ranged from 2 to 10 hours a week. All of the children liked the activity.

Of the total number of children in the school, 97.5 per cent indicated attendance at movies. The range of hours was wide. At the greater-number-of-hours end of the scale certain children could be identified. The hourly category most selected was that of 2 hours a week, indicated by 69.3 per cent of the group. This would mean an average of one movie a week. A few children (15.2 per cent) spent 1 hour, or saw an average of one movie every 2 weeks. Smaller numbers spent 3, 4, and 5 hours a week in the movies. Two children (3.3 per cent) spent an average of 10 hours a week at the movies. These figures were verified through conferences with the parents. All children attending the movies liked them. The younger children spent more time at the movies than the older children.

Nine out of ten children read the comics (91.0 per cent). Not only had the children spent their allowances for them, but they had set up a business in trading and selling secondhand books. It would have been interesting to inquire into the kinds, content, and style of these books which were traded, sold, and borrowed.

The largest number of children who read comic books each week were those who spent an average of 3 hours a week. They were followed by those (19.6 per cent) who read them 1 hour each week. Succeeding categories of 2, 4, and 6 hours a week followed in that order. Two children read an average of 9 and 10 hours a week, respectively. All children reading comic books liked them.

The group was further questioned as to the number of weekly hours spent in "organized activities." This category was interpreted to mean those activities which were highly organized—maintained some form of stability, structure, and leadership. Groups included the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Cub Scouts, church organizations, and junior civic groups. Of the total number of children, 47.2 per cent belonged to and participated in some organized activity. More than 31 per cent spent 2 hours a week in these groups. Smaller groups participated 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6 hours each week. Not all agreed it was fun, for 12.5 per cent of those so engaged did not like the activity.

All children were active in sports, either organized or sponsored in play groups. All games were played after school hours. Not included were random play activities. To be popular games had to have some sort of competitive spirit and involved a certain degree of physical prowess. Included were swimming, riding, badminton, baseball, football, archery, cycling, boating, etc.

The greater number of those participating in such organized games or sports spent either 2 or 10 hours a week in the activity. Slightly smaller proportions were indicated for those categories which comprised the 1 and 5 hour limit (11.8 per cent). Comparable proportions of students (8.8 per cent) spent 4, 7, 8, and 11+ hours a week in sports activities. All of those who engaged in sports liked them. This was not true, however, of passive or spectator sports. This was the group who looked! They saw such activities as baseball, football, horse shows, and races. Of those simply playing the part of observers it was found that 32.4 per cent did not like the idea. Of the total group 43.5 per cent believed that they spent an average of 1 hour a week, while 26.3 per cent indicated they spent 3 hours a week in like activity.

Practically four fifths of the student body take outside trips during the school year. This incurs a range of days lost from school of from 1 day to 60. The largest group, 33.3 per cent, lost from 5 to 9 school days a year (based on the previous year's experience), 14.7 per cent lost from 30 to 34 school days exclusive of week ends, 11.2 per cent lost from 10 to 14 and 20 to 24 school days, respectively. Smaller proportions spent both the shortest and the longest time away from school, with 3.7 per cent losing from 1 to 4 days or 25 to 29 days. A like percentage lost time of from 45 to 49 school days and from 50 to 54. Two children lost more than 60 school days per year. All children liked the trips.

One half of the children went to bed between the hours of 9 and 10. This group was followed by those who retired between 8 and 9 (20.6 per cent). The next smaller group was that (17.6 per cent) which hied itself off to bed between 10 and 11 o'clock. The smallest group (11.8 per cent) finally went to bed between 11 and midnight. Younger children generally retired earlier, although two children in the 8-10 group went to bed between 10 and 11, while one youngster went to bed at midnight.

In a distribution of daily hours spent with parents it was found that the largest group (32.3 per cent) believed they spent upwards of 6 or more hours a day. This group was followed by those (20.6 per cent) who spent what they thought would average 4 hours each day. Four children spent anywhere from a few minutes to 1 hour with their parents, usually during the evening meal; two children spent from 1 to 2 hours daily with parents. A greater proportion of the younger children spent less time with their parents than did their older peers. As age increased, the time span increased.

Yes, all children had their troubles, for they all indicated a preference for their confessor. The largest group (50.0 per cent) took their troubles to *both* their parents. Mothers rated next highest as the person in whom to confide, with 17.6 per cent of the group choosing her. The next highest group (11.8 per cent) preferred to keep their troubles to themselves, 8.8 per cent took them to their fathers, and 5.9 per cent took them either to their brothers and sisters or to friends. As age increased, the mother-father combination lost status as an outlet for troubled minds.

In conclusion, on a basis of the data collected from the group investigated, and for the time and place of the study, it was found that of the "cultural" activities dancing lessons were engaged in more than any other formal extracurricular instruction. The weekly hour lesson constituted the extent to which the group participated. About three fourths of the children disliked the dancing lesson. More than one half of the student group engaged in some form of instrumental musical instruction, with an average of 4 weekly hours devoted to practice. About one out of three of the total group participated in some form of choir or vocal lessons, with more than one half spending 1 weekly hour in lesson or practice. Forty per cent of the participating group disliked the activity. Lesser numbers engaged in dramatics, art, and ceramic pursuits.

All children listened to the radio with a listening average of 7½ weekly hours. All students enjoyed radio listening. Practically all children attended the movies, with two out of seven students attending one movie each week. The weekly attendance average was approximately 1½ hours. Children under ten years of age attended the movies more than did their older classmates. Nine out of ten students read the comic books weekly. The greater proportion averaged 3 weekly hours in this activity.

Almost one half of the group was engaged in some form of organized activity, with all children engaged in some form of active sport not designated as random play. Four out of five students took trips during the school year in which they lost from 1 to 60 or more school days. The average number of school days lost was noted as 10 to 15 days each year. The largest vacationing group lost from 5 to 9 days each school year. All children approved of the vacation trip idea.

Fifty per cent of the group retired between 9 and 10 each night. One out of ten went to bed between 11 and midnight.

One third of the children spent an average of 6 hours daily with their parents. Only 5.9 per cent spent from a few minutes to 1 hour daily, usually at the evening meal, in company with their parents. A greater proportion of the children under 10 years of age spent less time with their parents than did the older children. One half of the group took its problems directly to both parents, with mother rating second. These were followed by the group which preferred to keep their troubles to themselves.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF
CHARLES A. ELLWOOD (Concluded)

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In a preceding article on the sociology of Charles A. Ellwood the following themes were given attention: social psychology, the social group, cooperation and socialization, culture and cultural evolution. In this article, Ellwood's concepts of socioreligion, socioethics, socio-education, and social methodology are described. The numbering of the footnotes has been made continuous with that in the first article.

Socioreligion. In solving the social problem, namely, the difficulties that people experience in living together, Ellwood banked a great deal on his faith in religion and education. Religion, which will be considered first, is "that phase of culture which is concerned with the highest personal and social values. It is a valuing attitude toward life and toward the universe."[53] In its best-developed forms religion "is perhaps the most intimate and personal form of culture, because in it all the hopes, fears, loves, and aspirations of the individual soul are centered."[54] Because of its highly subjective nature religion is perhaps "the vaguest element in culture," and yet at the same time it is probably "the most vital element because it concerns the supreme values of life."[55] Religion helps men "to confront the world with hope and courage, and faith, and with loyalty, good will, and devotion to their fellows."[56] It gives man a connection with a "reality which lies behind both him and physical nature."[57]

Ellwood decries theological and ecclesiastical systems as well as emotional mysticisms, but he pays little attention to all the prejudices and hatreds that have been expressed in the name of religion.[58] He bases his arguments on the social teachings of Jesus and gives sociophilosophical support to Rauschenbusch's analyses of the social gospel.

The Christianity of Jesus is "a new set of 'pattern ideas,' marking the dawn of a new civilization, a civilization with nonpredatory moral-

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[53] *Man's Social Destiny in the Light of Science* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1929), p. 185.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[55] *Loc. cit.*

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

[58] "Religion and Democracy," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*," 14:132.

ity on a humanitarian basis."[59] It endeavors "to transcend predatory, individual, class, tribal, and national ethics" with "a universalized, social, international humanitarian ethics."[60] It is this type of religion that can be viewed as "the supreme embodiment of the values of life."[61]

If the spiritual values of Christianity do not control, the animal lusts of man will do so.[62] Today God or gods are not ignored, but it is the social teachings of Jesus that are neglected.[63] Moreover, Western civilization "has never been Christian." Today humanity is losing its hope and its radiance because faith in it and in the teachings of Jesus have waned in the lives of so many people. The great need is for "a revival of faith" in Jesus and in his teachings about peacemaking, about the brotherhood of man, and about the cooperation of people everywhere "in the realization of a kingdom of spiritual values."[64]

Ellwood places a major responsibility upon Christianity's main institution, the church. He asked that the church develop techniques for teaching "effectively the Christian way of life to all mankind."[65] A major function of the church is "to propagate moral ideals in society."[66] Its "higher work" is to create a "public conscience," in other words, "an effective public opinion regarding the conditions under which persons and groups of persons may live together peacefully and constructively."[67]

A concrete program for the church was proposed by Ellwood. If the church is to reconstruct civilization it may undertake (1) to combat "the increasing sensate character of our civilization" and get "body-mindedness and thing-mindedness" subordinated to "spiritual-mindedness,"[68] (2) to teach the need for universal love, or active good will, among all men as a means of developing a Christian civilization, and (3) "to arouse and organize enthusiasm for the Christian cause among its members."[69] Ellwood greatly deplores what Sorokin has called sensate culture; he deprecates the easy-going hedonistic philosophy which is so common today; he condemns "group selfishness which probably

59 *The Reconstruction of Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), p. 85.
60 *Loc. cit.*
61 *The World's Need of Christ,* p. 153.
62 *Ibid.,* p. 49.
63 *Ibid.,* p. 20.
64 *Ibid.,* p. 54.
65 *Ibid.,* p. 179.
66 "The Social Function of Religion," *The American Journal of Sociology,* 19:306.
67 "The Formation of Public Opinion," *Religious Education,* 15:73.
68 *The World's Need of Christ,* p. 194.
69 *Ibid.,* p. 196.

has had more to do with causing the disorders of our world than individual selfishness."[70]

Socioethics. Ethical behavior plays a large part in Ellwood's sociological thinking. His religious views are largely ethical in nature. His bachelor's thesis in 1896 was on "The Social Sciences as a Basis for the Science of Ethics,"[71] and the influence on him of persons like Paulsen and Rauschenbusch was considerable. To no small extent his was an ethicopsychical theory of sociology. He held that "more intelligence is futile in the solution of the social problem," that is, in effecting better "human relations among people," and that intelligence "must be supplemented by the wide diffusion of altruism among the masses."[72] Intelligence is "the capacity to improve upon natural tendencies through profiting by prior experience."[73] In order that intelligence may assist in bettering human relations it must be socialized, that is, made dynamic by moral motivation.

The conception of morality among primitive people was that "it was simply a matter of sharing customs," and immorality was "the breaking of the rule of custom."[74] Morality today may be viewed as "the sharing of a social ideal," and anything may be considered moral "which works toward the establishment of an ideal social order or a perfect human society. . . ."[75] Moreover, moral values are "explicable only through the psychic life of society as a whole,"[76] and ethical ideals are derived genetically from the social life.[77] Ellwood prescribes for the solution of conflicts in human relations a humanitarian ethics supported by a social religion. By the latter he means "that which will exalt the service of humanity over and above the service of any individual, class, nation, or even race, as the highest end and value."[78] It is the self-development and self-sacrifice of people "not as ends in themselves but for the sake of the service of humanity" that Ellwood urges in a dozen different ways.[79]

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[70] *Ibid.,* p. 45.
[71] Howard E. Jensen, "Development of the Social Thought of Charles Abram Ellwood," *Sociology and Social Research,* 31:344.
[72] *Ibid.,* p. 345.
[73] *The Psychology of Human Society,* p. 98.
[74] *Cultural Evolution,* p. 216.
[75] "Social Development of Morality," *Sociology and Social Research,* 12:23.
[76] "Prolegomena to Social Psychology," *The American Journal of Sociology,* 4:664.
[77] "The Sociological Basis of Ethics," 20:326.
[78] *The Social Problem,* p. 210.
[79] *Ibid.,* p. 221.

Ellwood sees no change in the problem of living together, of human behavior, for it is "essentially the same today as it was 2,000 years ago."[80] The solution likewise is the same, for as St. Paul said, "We are members of one another," and "whatever we do to the lowliest of our fellow human beings we have done to God himself."[81] The problem arises with every social contact: Will the participants understand one another and will they come to agreements regarding differences?

Socioeducation. Ellwood elaborated Ward's concept of social telesis in terms of social education as a basis of social planning. He urged a dynamic education in place of a static one, an education that goes beyond simply conserving the social order and that aims "at the initiation and control of social progress."[82] He wanted an education that would produce efficient members of society, good citizens, who would not only take their places in groups but would "add something to the life of the group."[83] It is not enough for education to "emancipate the individual and develop his capacities."[84] It is not enough for education to be "based on individual psychology, for the result is not always consistent with social survival or social progress."[85] Education based on the science of sociology could make a normal individual "many times more effective socially than he is at the present time," and could make "much more harmonious the relations between individuals."[86]

Ellwood changed Wells' statement about civilization being a race between education and catastrophe to read that education is a race, not between any kind of education and catastrophe, but between social, political, moral, and religious education and catastrophe. These are "just the kinds of education which we have been neglecting."[87] But education of a social nature functions very slowly, for its task is that of making over the mores or those folkways which are judged essential to the welfare of the group. Social education is slow to the extent that the schools "are controlled by the mores of their time and place from which they cannot escape even if they would."[88] The socially needed education will develop and will spread those principles which underlie all human progress, all justice and fair play, freedom of the individual for thinking, "investigating and discussing the welfare of each human

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80 *The World's Need of Christ,* p. 84.
81 *Ibid.,* p. 75.
82 *Methods in Sociology,* p. 179.
83 *Ibid.,* p. 183.
84 *Loc. cit.*
85 *Loc. cit.*
86 *Ibid.,* pp. 206, 207.
87 *Man's Social Destiny in the Light of Science,* p. 81.
88 *Ibid.,* p. 155.

group as a part of humanity and of humanity itself."[89] It is that phase of the cultural process which not only transmits culture but, more important, may enhance and enrich culture.

Education that will function in developing a socialized citizenry will do four things. (1) It will free and train the mind of the individual. (2) It will impart definite social information and acquaint students "with our human world." (3) It will give social studies "the central place in the curriculum of our schools, flanked on one side by language and on the other by the natural sciences."[90] The social studies will "not only train the imagination but awaken emotion."[91] (4) It will control the learning of all individuals in regard to their ideas, attitudes, and emotions as they come on the stage of life. In this way it will be possible to modify "the whole complex of our social life, or our civilization within the comparatively short space of one or two generations."[92] When education includes all classes and social conditions within one horizon, then "our sympathy, and so our love may be taught to go out to all mankind."[93] If religious leaders sometimes forget to include knowledge in their procedures, Benjamin Kidd failed to emphasize the need for intelligence "along with love or good will in our human world."[94] But Ellwood does not make clear the procedures involved in educating the emotions, except to say that indirectly "we can control our emotions through the control of ideas,"[95] and then he turns from education to religion as "the great means of promoting faith, hope, and love in human society."[96] Ellwood had faith that love can be cultivated and controlled in human society just as well as intelligence can.[97] When people have learned to identify themselves with all of their fellows, "even with the lowest and meanest," they have entered fully into that "larger life which is at once true education and true religion."[98] Thus, Ellwood sees social education and social religion as inseparable Siamese twins for meeting the social problem inherent in human relations.

Education eventuates in social planning and hence in social progress. Ellwood was deeply interested in "rationally planned progress and collective achievement." This comprehensive undertaking involves three

[89] *Ibid.,* p. 161.
[90] *Ibid.,* pp. 166 ff.; also, *Sociology: Principles and Problems,* pp. 367 ff.
[91] *Ibid.,* p. 175.
[92] *Christianity and Social Science,* pp. 13 ff.
[93] *Ibid.,* p. 121.
[94] *Ibid.,* p. 127.
[95] *Ibid.,* p. 130.
[96] *Ibid.,* p. 134.
[97] *Loc. cit.*
[98] *Ibid.,* p. 149.

procedures: (1) to find and train efficient intellectual leaders, (2) to organize and make available all the tested knowledge that can be obtained, and (3) to diffuse the scientific attitude and general social intelligence throughout the group. The masses must be taught "to appreciate intellectual achievement" and the scientific attitude and value of intellectual guidance.[99]

Social planning may be expected to result in "a certain freeing of the individual so that he can have the fullest opportunity for normal development.[100] Ellwood did not seek "supermen" of the Nietzschean formula, who are "beyond the need for social control," but the socialization of attitudes of everyone organized under the direction of socially responsible leaders. It is the function chiefly of the schools, particularly of the universities, to find and train these leaders. But "a scientifically trained leadership along nonmaterial lines" will avail little "if the general cultural level of the people has not been raised to the point where they can appreciate such leadership."[101] Ellwood challenged the schools and colleges especially to make social studies fundamental in their curricula.

Ellwood was interested in changing the motivation of people by socioeducational processes. Instead of obtaining things, or possession, as a motive, he would set before all young people, as the main motive of life, devotion to the welfare of other people and contributing something of value to the welfare of mankind by constructive or creative means. He inveighs against what he calls our "semicriminal civilization" which overstimulates "the lust of possession" and which dwarfs personal attitudes because of the "exploitation and deprivation" which it perpetrates on helpless people.

As a summary of Ellwood's socioeducational thought his words may be quoted to the effect that the education that can save civilization is "one which will effect a psychological revolution, and lead us to see that men cannot live together upon the bases of selfish aggrandizement, exploitation, or violence; that men can live together only upon a basis of mutual service, mutual sacrifice, and mutual good will."[102]

Social methodology. Ellwood was deeply concerned about the problem of methodology. He remonstrated against making a god out of statistics and measurement in the physical science sense. He believed that such

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[99] *Ibid.*, p. 338.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. 471.
[101] *Man's Social Destiny*, p. 81.
[102] "The Function of the Church-Related College in Our System of Education," *Religion in Life*, 7:71.

methods would greatly restrict the development of socially useful knowledge. He advocated the use of measurement methods "whenever and wherever they can be employed,"[103] but not exclusively or predominantly. When sociology uses physical science methods exclusively, "it cannot guide us because it will miss the nonmaterial aspects of culture and end in negation."[104] Following Sorokin's line of thought, Ellwood declared that "sensate science cannot deal with the intangibles and imponderables in human relations," because "it cannot see the social process, the process of interaction between individuals and between groups, but sees only the results of such interaction in the experiences of individuals."[105] Moreover, psychosocial data are not primarily spatial and temporal in nature, and hence "they can make little use of mathematical methods."[106] "Most of the important problems in human social evolution cannot be solved by narrow scientific methods."[107]

Ellwood advocated "objective thinking," or "impersonal detached thinking not colored by one's subjectivity or objectivity."[108] To the methods of the natural sciences, that is, to observation, experiment, and the use of instruments and of measurement, he added logical reasoning, logical criticism, and synthesis.[109] He repeatedly emphasized the use of "scientific imagination in methods of research," since imagination is "the basis of all culture, of religion, of good citizenship."[110] Scientific imagination enables persons "to identify themselves not only in thought but also in feeling" with their fellow men everywhere.[111] Social imagination is "the basis of an intelligent social sympathy."[112] The training of the imagination in a social direction and the awakening of a social sympathy are fundamental to social education.[113]

A subject closely related to social research is participant observation, which is "the use of imagination to put ourselves in the place of the group described, checked up, however, by our actual experiences with the class of individuals described."[114] The historical method as developed by Ellwood along the line of Schmoller's use of it gives knowledge of the

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103 *Methods in Sociology*, pp. 15, 85.
104 "The Future of Science," *The Scientific Monthly*, 28:545.
105 *The World's Need of Christ*, p. 61.
106 Howard E. Jensen, quoted by, p. 348.
107 *A History of Social Philosophy*, p. 557.
108 *Methods in Sociology*, p. 28.
109 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
110 *Man's Social Destiny*, p. 170.
111 *The Psychology of Human Society*, p. 332.
112 *Christianity and Social Science*, p. 199.
113 *Ibid.*, p. 167.
114 *Methods in Sociology*, p. 74.

trends "of the cultural development of any people." It assists the re-
search worker in understanding "the forces and factors, the possibilities
and the probabilities, of any social movement or condition."[115] The
case study method may have important historical aspects, but as a rule
it is "too narrow to throw any light upon the larger sociological prob-
lems connected with social evolution and cultural changes."[116] The
survey method is weak unless it becomes a study of processes and tend-
encies.[117] It too often neglects the nonmaterial aspects of human re-
lations, such as traditions, standards, values, opinions, beliefs.[118] Empirical
research requires "breadth of scholarship to redeem it from futility."[119]

Behavioristic methods likewise offer "no adequate basis for dealing
scientifically with the nonmaterial aspects of culture."[120] They do not
show "the true nature of the social process," nor of "adult behavior
which is essentially cultural nor of human institutions which are
grounded in values and valuing processes."[121] "Since the social sciences
are more definitely studies of culture than of nature, and since culture
is so distinct from nature, research regarding it must be conducted
differently."[122]

The social researcher cannot get away from value judgments. He
studies them as objects of research and he makes them too. "Even the
physical sciences are filled with relative value-judgments as to the utility
or disutility of certain adjustments."[123] The concept of value, according
to Ellwood, "may prove the key that will eventually release all of the
human sciences from their present position of pathetic if dignified
futility."[124] Since socially recognized values are products of human
interaction and explain many of the human relations problems, the
study of human interaction is a vital aspect of sociology and social
psychology.

Valedictory. Ellwood's career as a sociologist was unique in that he
recognized before his final illness that he had completed his life work.
His valedictory to the social science world, to which he had devoted

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115 *Ibid.,* p. 80.
116 *Ibid.,* p. 91.
117 *Ibid.,* p. 96.
118 *Ibid.,* p. 97.
119 See Howard E. Jensen, *op. cit.,* p. 350.
120 *Methods in Sociology,* p. 54.
121 *Ibid.,* p. 55.
122 *Ibid.,* p. 66.
123 "Sociology," *The Americana Annual* (New York: American Corporation,
1943), p. 665.
124 *Methods in Sociology,* p. xxxiv.

forty-five years of intense thinking, was published more than a year and a half before his death. In it he sums up four "distinctive endeavors" as follows:

1. I have endeavored to get sociologists to recognize that the intangible and imponderable factors in the human mind are the most important factors, both theoretically and practically, with which they have to deal; but the increasing drift in sociology is toward natural science methods which take into account only the observable and measurable.

2. I have stood for peace, understanding, and sympathy as the adequate basis for the adjustment of all inter-human relations; but the increasing drift is toward the use of force.

3. I have stood for a humanized religion based upon a humanized science as an adequate guide for both individual and group behavior; but the increasing drift now seems to be toward a theological religion which emphasizes super-mundane values.

4. I have endeavored to make the study of human relations, guided by humanized science, central in the curricula for the education of the young; but temporarily, at least, a military tyranny in our higher institutions of learning has decreed that the central place in the education of the young shall be the techniques and technologies of physical science.[125]

In an accompanying statement he indicated his earlier hopefulness and his later hopelessness. He had started out his career with faith in human nature modified by human welfare stimuli. He had fought a courageous fight, and had finally admitted defeat, but with his intellectual colors flying with a clear-cut belief that some day mankind would give up its destructive ways and set up a functional Kingdom of Good Will on earth.

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[125] *Social Science*, 20:5, 6.

RACES AND CULTURE

THE CHINESE CONQUER CHINA. By Anna Louise Strong. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1949, pp. ix+275.

The author of this book has a long history of friendly, personal relationships with the present Communist rulers of China and quite obviously admires them very much. In comparison, she seems merely to tolerate the Russians. The title makes it clear that she considers Chairman Mao and his associates the legitimate representatives of the Chinese people. Obviously, this is neither completely true nor wholly false. What the American Government and all intelligent citizens need to know as an indispensable basis for our own policy in East Asia is just how much truth there is in the statement. This book presents evidence that it contains more truth than most of our newspapers are willing to admit.

The author of *I Change Worlds* asserts that she has found in Chinese communism a third "world" quite different from either the American world into which she was born or the Russian world into which she married and for which she has long been considered a spokesman. She asserts flatly that the Chinese Communists are neither Moscow satellites nor what we would call democrats. They are Chinese patriots who use Marxian methods to attempt to solve China's own problems. They believe in gradual change through a series of stages to be worked out experimentally—the process to be guided firmly to its eventual consummation in a socialistic utopia.

The picture that the author has given of the life and thought of the Chinese farmer rings true. Most of the quoted sayings are so obviously Chinese that the informed reader could replace the Chinese language originals. The account checks well with information from American missionaries and Chinese Christian friends in North China that has come since the "liberation." Naturally, there is no means of checking specific incidents of a personal nature. Statements of historical record seem to agree with other reliable sources; some of the facts have been taken from the State Department White Paper.

After a chapter of personal memories, Chapter Two describes some of the Chinese Communists. Although not too well documented and not up to date, this chapter is a popular account of some of the leading personalities and their more important policies. The remainder of the book elaborates their strategy in politics, economics, education, and military activity.

This book will help to dispel the propagandist idea that the people of China have overnight turned into Russians.

<div align="right">S. H. LEGER
George Pepperdine College</div>

THIS IS RACE. An Anthology Selected from the International Literature on the Races of Man. Selected, edited, and with an Introduction by Earl W. Count. New York: Henry Schumann, 1950, pp. xxviii+747.

This is one of the few anthologies on the subject of race and probably the only one in its particular field, which is that of physical anthropology. It deals with what some of the writers call raciology, or the science of race, a term that may not achieve common usage, partly because the term *race* means so many different things to so many different people that it has lost a definitive meaning and partly because it is not euphonious.

The materials in the book begin with a selection from Comte de Buffon (1749) and conclude with one by S. L. Washburn (1944). They give a history of the various facts that have served during the two centuries to create a considerable variety of theories concerning race. It is interesting to note that Buffon in 1749 advanced the belief that there is just one human race, which spread over the face of the earth, which in spreading underwent changes that became more and more conspicuous, and whose differences as time goes on will gradually disappear. Blumenbach, sometimes considered the father of anthropology, states that he took the name for the Caucasian division of man from Mount Caucasus, "both because its neighborhood and especially its southern slope produced the most beautiful race of men, I mean the Georgian." A number of contributed papers discuss the various blood types, A, B, AB, O, M, N, Rh, and P, which appear to be distributed more according to geography than to racial divisions. The conclusion of the whole matter of race is that because of the great confusion and lack of certainty, it probably would be best to give up the use of the term *race* altogether.

These sixty selections give as good an idea as any group of selections could do concerning the rise, development, and present status of physical anthropology, of the anatomical differences in mankind, and of the biological distinctions between races. The selections come from materials originally published in English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, Norwegian, Swedish, and Russian, and thus indicate the manifold sources of research concerning racial distinctions of a biological nature.

<div align="right">E.S.B.</div>

JACKIE ROBINSON. By Bill Roeder. New York: A. S. Barnes and Co.,
  1950, pp. vi+183.

This book tells the story of the entrance of the Negro into a field
of activity from which he had previously been excluded, namely, organ-
ized baseball. The story of Jackie Robinson as a baseball player is well
known to a vast American public and needs no retelling. However, Mr.
Roeder takes the reader behind the scenes and shows him the carefully
laid out and executed plan which made that story possible. The search
for the right person from the standpoint of ability as well as of tempera-
ment, the preparation of the people within the walls of organized base-
ball, the breakdown of resistance in certain areas of the South, and the
rise of Jackie Robinson in the National League to a place of recognition
where he has been given the Most Valuable Player Award are all
related. This is the first of the Most Valuable Player Series and makes
most interesting reading.   WILLIAM W. LAHEY

THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY. By T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-
  Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford. New York: Harper
  & Brothers, 1950, pp. xxxiii+990.

Although this study began as a series of "specific investigations into
anti-Semitism," the emphasis "gradually shifted" and the authors came
to regard their main task "not to analyze anti-Semitism or any other
anti-minority prejudice as a sociopsychological phenomenon per se, but
rather to examine the relation of anti-minority prejudice to broader
ideological and characterological patterns." The research work that is
reported in this book is voluminous and intensive but not well organized
as a total unit.

The first third of the book gives the results of measurement of anti-
Semitic ideology, politico-economic ideology, ethnocentrism, and anti-
democratic trends. To this end a number of scales were developed—
an anti-Semitism scale, an ethnocentrism scale, a politico-economic con-
servatism scale, and a fascism scale. While considerable painstaking work
was done on the development of these scales, it is not at all certain that
these yardsticks are completed scales. For instance, in no one of them
are the items arranged in the form of a continuum, and yet a continuum
of items is generally considered an essential aspect of a scale.

For such extensive research it would have been desirable to use more
representative samples of the population. The authors "dipped into
populations," but did not sample them in a way that would be considered

statistically sound. A number of interesting findings, however, are presented. The major hypothesis was "that the political, economic, and social convictions of an individual often form a broad and coherent pattern, as if bound together by a 'mentality' or 'spirit,' and that this pattern is an expression of deep-lying trends in his personality." The findings, in the main, support the hypothesis, although the introduction of the terms *mentality* and *spirit* into the hypothesis complicates matters considerably.

Two hundred pages of the book are given to the nature of personality as revealed in what are called "clinical interviews." Part III discus es the nature of personality "as revealed through projective material," and Part IV takes up some qualitative aspects of ideology. The concluding part treats of the genetic aspects of the authoritarian personality and the relation of psychological ill-health to potential fascism. Although this ensemble of studies is somewhat unwieldy, it opens for further exploration vast aspects of personality and, to a limited degree, of personality in relation to social groups and culture.

E.S.B.

TOWARD BETTER RACE RELATIONS. By Dothory Sabiston and Margaret Hiller. New York: The Woman's Press, 1949, pp. vii + 190.

This is a report of a field study of the interracial practices of seventeen carefully selected YWCA's located in all sections of the United States. An attempt was made to determine the extent to which the selected local Associations had been able to adopt the interracial practices that had been outlined by the national organization at an earlier date. An attempt was also made to ascertain some of the problems local Associations were confronted with and some of the principles found useful in planning programs for the improvement of race relations in the United States.

In this report it is shown that local organizations, even in the Deep South, can do much to improve local race relations under the proper conditions. Some of the factors included under the proper conditions are good leadership, a plan that is accepted by the workers, a clear understanding of the objectives, the presentation of extensive and varied data on the problem, the planning of constructive interracial experiences, and the ability to accept failure without considering it defeat. Although all of these factors were found important, the Associations that accepted failure without considering it defeat seemed to be having the most success during the period of the study.

Finally, it is pointed out that progress can be made in interracial relations in the South if the proper techniques are used. Several illustrations are presented showing how interracial committees functioned and how interracial meetings were carried out without any degree of segregation or discrimination in Southern cities. The book offers many practical suggestions that should be of value to all who are interested in the improvement of interracial relations in the United States.

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SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF CHILDREN. By Marian Radke, Helen G. Trager, and Hadassah Davis. New York: Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1949, pp. 327-447. Reprint from *Genetic Psychology Monographs,* 1949.

This piece of research examines two hypotheses: (1) Cultural content and attitudes with respect to racial and religious groups are learned early in childhood, in the process of differentiating the social environment and (2) group awareness is one aspect of the self concept of children. The subjects of this study were 250 children, "five to eight years of age, in kindergarten, first, and second grades." The reactions of these children "toward racial and religious groups were obtained through the use of a series of pictures and a standard set of interview questions that accompanied each picture."

The findings of this projective type of test are that these children at their early age showed an awareness of racial and religious differences, that they already experienced hostile reactions toward some groups other than their own, and that their incipient attitudes seemed to reflect the patterns of group prejudice that function in the adult culture. The study thus points to the need for definite intercultural programs for children at an early age and to the current inadequacy of the public schools in this connection.   E.S.B.

THE LAPPS. By Bjorn Collinder. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. 252.

For sponsoring this book the American-Scandinavian Foundation deserves special credit. The author, who is a linguist and philologist, has made thirty trips to the Lapps and, as he says, has "spent about three years of my life in their entertaining company." He treats varied aspects of Lapp life and land, such as their history, their language, the race and national character, their clothing, dwellings, food and drink, their reindeer and dogs, their religion and superstitions, taboos and prayers, and their literature, art, and music. The Lapps number about 20,000 in

Norway, 9,000 in Sweden, 2,500 in Finland, and 1,800 in Russia. They are a people apart in many ways and yet are distinctly human.

The Lapps have many significant customs. Only one will be cited here, namely, ultimogeniture, according to which the youngest son (not the oldest) ranks first in inheritance, for he is the last to leave home if at all and he takes care of the aged parents as long as they live; he also cares for his unmarried sisters.

Careful scholarship marks the discussion throughout. Excellent photographs enhance the attractiveness of the book. Several pages of bibliography constitute another asset. The book contains much material for sociological interpretation. E.S.B.

NATIVE ARTS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. By Robert T. Davis and Edward M. Farmer. Stanford University Press, 1949, pp. 165.

As its title indicates, this book, one of the "Stanford Art Series," deals with the native arts of the Pacific Northwest peoples, such as Kwakiutl, Tlingit, Chilkat, Haida, Salish, Tsimshian, and Alaskan Eskimo. It is based on the great collection of Axel Rasmussen, an Alaskan superintendent of schools, who zealously collected native art objects for over 25 years. The volume, 9 by 11 inches in dimension, contains 5 beautiful color plates and 194 photographs of art objects, representing a selection from Rasmussen's 5,000 articles. All the plates and photographs are described in a catalog in the latter part of the book.

The introductory text, written by a man who understands and appreciates native art, Robert Tyler Davis, formerly director of the Portland Art Museum and now director of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, interprets the meaning and beauty of this art—art that expresses significant aspects of the people's and the artist's life and culture: "The Indians of the Northwest Coast of America developed a culture with a tremendously rich artistic expression. The expressions were sometimes powerful and dramatic, sometimes fine and delicate, but always they were alive. The art is one that had something to say, and what the artist made was not only useful in the material sense but functioned also in telling part of the story of a whole culture. The artist was never content to make an empty or meaningless decoration. Even when his products were made to serve practical purposes, the shapes and decorations were devised to have meaning; and even further, a meaning that would enhance the use of the product." This book is attractively printed; it is a portable museum which will be appreciated not only by students of anthropology and art but by many other people as well. LOUIS PETROFF

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SOCIAL WELFARE

Hanson calls our attention to new worlds emerging in the Arctic and the tropics. He carefully evaluates these two areas in terms of economic resources, ethnic relations, and military importance. He points out that Soviet Russia has encouraged population migration to the Arctic, the training of geologists for mineral prospecting and Arctic exploration, and the development of weather stations which may serve many purposes. At present Soviet Russia has a large population living in or near the Arctic, perhaps as many as twelve million persons. On the other hand, our military defenses are weak, inasmuch as we do not have a sustained population who know the art of survival under Arctic weather conditions. In fact, until very recently our policy has been to keep the Alaskan area undeveloped and almost uninhabited. It is doubtful that this country can afford "a natural wilderness" for recreational purposes as at one time suggested.

The Amazon Valley area is described as the new frontier, possibly as rich as the United States in the quantity and variety of its natural resources. Most of the Latin-American countries desire to emancipate themselves from economic colonialism. Considerable progress is being made in the direction of stable national economies for South America. Puerto Rico turns out to be the economists' nightmare. Poverty is replete in the area. Meat and milk are such luxuries that the daily per capita consumption in Puerto Rico is measured in terms of ounces and spoonfuls. Its rural and urban slums are compared with the worst in the most crowded parts of Asia. Other countries described are Liberia ("Up from Slavery"), Africa ("Laboratory of Race"), and Iceland ("Laboratory of Man").

The book is written in a fascinating style by an author who delights in shocking the reader with his common-sense approach to the myths, legends, and theories associated with the emerging areas under analysis. Hanson conveys the feeling that there is more hope than despair in world relations. However, he warns that "the present fear of war is greater than the threat of war." Is it ironic that the most fear-conscious nations of the world are the "advanced" and not the peoples in the "emerging areas"?   E.C.M.

THE MAIN TYPES AND CAUSES OF DISCRIMINATION. Secretary-
General of the United Nations. New York: United Nations, 1949, pp. 88.

It is highly significant that the United Nations, through its effective
Commission on Human Rights with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt as its
chairman, should tackle the difficult problems of discrimination and
prejudice. Basic considerations are given: (1) The prevention of dis-
crimination means the preventing of any action "which denies to individ-
uals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish";
and (2) the protection of minorities means that nondominant groups
shall be given equality of treatment, particularly in matters of race,
religion, and language. Guiding principles are set forth as follows:
(1) the principle of freedom and (2) the principle of equality of all
human beings before the law. Prejudice is analyzed as a source of dis-
crimination, and the pretexts for prejudice are given as race, color,
cultural circle, language, religion, national circle, social class, political
opinion, and sex.

Discrimination appears in three forms of inequality in treatment:
namely, in imposing disabilities, in granting privileges, and in imposing
odious obligations. Legal measures for educational measures and for
preventing discriminations are likewise proposed. This important docu-
ment is concluded with thirty pages of bibliography on prejudice, dis-
crimination, and related themes.   E.S.B.

**PATTERNS AND CEREMONIALS OF THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTH-
WEST.** By Ira Moskowitz and John Collier. New York: E. P. Dutton
& Co., 1949, pp. 192.

In this beautiful volume the artist and author have combined their
respective talents to portray and describe the meaningful dances and
ceremonies of the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and Apache Indians of the South-
west. Ira Moskowitz has contributed over 100 lithographs and drawings
depicting such interesting events as the Blessing Way, the Deer Dance,
the Buffalo Dance, and the Squaw Dance. Most of the drawings reflect
a sense of calmness that the Indian has for nature and the problem of
group living. The essential spirit of the Indian is perhaps best portrayed
in Moskowitz' "Navajo Shepherd," where peaceful attitudes prevail
over material poverty.

John Collier, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, has written
a ninety-four-page descriptive introduction to the art work of Mos-
kowitz. It is one of Collier's convictions that the "civilized man" can

learn something very significant from the Indian. The sophistication of the Indian does not spring from a possession of knowledge, but from a possession of understanding. Mutual aid and democracy are not ideals or future goals, but current practices established by centuries of tradition. The village community is a cooperative democracy, something that has not been attained in the urban centers with their war and depression jitters.   E.C.M.

ALCOHOL AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: A New Education Approach. By Raymond G. McCarthy and Edgar M. Douglass. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company and Yale Plan Clinic, 1949, pp. xiv+304.

The authors have developed a new approach to the problems of alcoholism by providing principles and facts based on scientific research before indicating the material which may be presented more effectively in school programs. Starting with the historical background of drinking and the social control of intemperance through moral suasion and political action, the authors next present data in regard to the extent of alcoholic beverages in our society and the patterns of drinking, the physiological and psychological effects of excessive drinking, and the social responsibility for alcoholic problems. This provides the basic material for a new approach to the subject through education.

Among the statistical data presented, the authors cite figures to show that, of the legally produced and sold liquor, the total consumption (in terms of gallons) of distilled spirits and wine has increased four times and of beer (in terms of barrels) it has more than doubled in the United States since 1934. The consumption of "packaged beer" increased sixfold, but draught beer consumption decreased slightly. The apparent consumption of total absolute alcohol (in these beverages) per capita of the population 15 years old and older increased from 0.89 in 1934 to 2.16 in 1946. The total expenditures in the United States for alcoholic beverages increased from $2,080,000,000 in 1934 to $9,640,-000,000 in 1947. According to several surveys cited, from 63 to 65 per cent of the adult population drink alcoholic beverages, ranging from 72 per cent in the age groups 20-29 to 51 per cent of those 50 years old and over. More men than women are classified as drinkers (72 per cent of the men and 54 per cent of the women), and about three times as many men as women are classified as "regular" drinkers. However, the extent of drinking among women has increased considerably during recent years. City people drink more than rural people, and the percentage of urban drinking increases with the size of the city. The percentage of drinkers

increases from low to higher economic levels. Striking differences in drinking or abstinence are noted according to broad religious groupings. Seventeen states have adopted some form of monopoly plan, and 29 states and the District of Columbia have adopted the license system of control.   M.H.N.

THE NEGRO'S MORALE. By Arnold M. Rose. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1949, pp. 153.

This study is devoted to an analysis of group identification and protest as factors in building Negro morale. Professor Rose defines group identification as "a positive desire to identify oneself as a member of the group and a feeling of pleasure when one does so identify oneself." While most of the book is concerned with the positive factors in morale building, some attention is given to Negro self-hate and the "advantages of the disadvantages." Some of the agencies promoting Negro morale are the press, humor, politics and business, community interests and institutions, and spontaneous displays of protests.

Five outcomes of the group identification and protest movement have been (1) to increase the self-confidence of the Negro, (2) to aid the development of effective protest organizations, (3) to make the Negro vote count, (4) to alert the Negroes to world events that may affect them, and (5) to protest every significant instance of discrimination. Professor Rose has thrown new light on this central problem, and his analysis will serve to call attention to group identification in other minority groups.   E.C.M.

THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, 1950. By the Publications Department. Manchester, England: Cooperative Wholesale Society, 1950, pp. 144.

As President T. H. Gill of the Cooperative Wholesale Society points out in the Foreword, the cooperative movement in Britain alone has "a growing membership, at present exceeding 10,000,000, and an annual retail trade of more than 500,000,000 pounds. The Year Book deals succinctly with a number of important topics, such as retail cooperation, cooperative ideals today, cooperative politics in Britain, cooperative education, cooperative statistics. The document is concluded with a directory of cooperative organizations and a directory of related social organizations.

It is reported that the development of a national cooperative membership procedure and a national "Co-op" emblem has "helped greatly to consolidate the Movement and give it a sense of unity that was previously lacking among the general body of members." A cooperator is

defined as "one who believes in voluntary association" and hence he is not interested in compulsory nationalization. A postwar development is represented by the organization of some sixty district councils in Britain. They function to stimulate new cooperative activities and to coordinate the activities of cooperative enterprises. Since 1947 a new National Cooperative Education Association, with 444 constituent societies and a membership of 8,225,000, has been formed. The constituent societies are organized into sectional education councils. The NCEA supervises (1) the work of the Cooperative Youth Movement; (2) the Cooperative College near Loughborough with its accommodations for 110 residential students, its campus of 300 acres, and its curriculum of social science and cooperative studies and cooperative management studies; (3) the preparation of syllabuses, the conducting of examinations, and the presentation of awards. The Year Book is replete with statistics concerning the growth of cooperatives in Britain.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL THEORY

HAS MARKET CAPITALISM COLLAPSED?—A CRITIQUE OF KARL POLANYI'S NEW ECONOMICS. By Allen Morris Sievers. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, pp. 387.

Because he believes in the fundamental validity of Karl Polanyi's analysis of the reasons for the collapse of market capitalism, Professor Sievers has carefully restated, supplemented, and criticized Polanyi's arguments. The resultant book is clearly organized and carries the marks of careful and logical intellectual analysis.

Karl Polanyi, an Austrian by birth and background, has lived in England and the United States since the mid-thirties and has frequently been described, by others than Sievers, as a Christian Socialist. He sees fascism as an evil system filling a vacuum left by the collapse of the market capitalism of the nineteenth century. The self-regulating market which came to dominate the society of the nineteenth century ran counter to the inherently protective nature of human society. This anthropologically aberrant societal pattern was in large part the result of the false analyses of the social scientists, and especially of the English economists, of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Seeking to overcome poverty, in the face of faulty poor-law legislation, such men as Malthus and Ricardo succeeded in subjecting the whole of society to the inhumanities of the market. Polanyi clearly implies that the better

alternative was, and is, some kind of socialism based on a conception of Christian brotherhood.

Among other things, Sievers criticizes Polanyi for lack of scholarly care, leaving gaps in the logic of the argument, inadequate anthropological research, oversimplification, and self-contradictions in certain peripheral statements. But he approves the general results of Polanyi's thinking, the polemic approach which implies the responsibility of the social sciences for social action, and the criticism of the economists. Sievers pushes the attack upon the economists even more vigorously than Polanyi by arguing specifically that they failed to disentangle ethics and descriptive science.

The intellectual chaos of our times may be illustrated by a brief comparison of Polanyi's views with those of Hayek, as revealed in *The Road to Serfdom*. Both of these *émigrés* from central Europe reject fascism and find the cause of the breakdown of capitalism in the deep protectionist tendencies within it. Hayek, however, regards this breakdown as a result of disloyalty to the great liberal ideal of the last century, while Polanyi (and Sievers) regards it as the inevitable outcome of a basically erroneous conception of society.

CHARLES SPAULDING
Whittier College

A MANUAL OF STYLE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949, pp. x+498.

The present edition, the eleventh, was issued last year, and the first, in 1906. A total of over forty printings have been made of the *Manual,* which has now achieved a very wide and well-deserved recognition throughout the English-writing world.

Among the new features in the 1949 edition are an expanded glossary of technical terms, an enlarged statement of the copyright law, a number of display type faces as well as type samples, many new illustrations of the rules for preparation of copy, and additional suggestions to authors and editors—all of them now numbered and made easy for reference purposes.

The *Manual* has built up a well-deserved reputation for establishing carefully considered and conservative rules to be followed by authors, editors, printers, and publishers. A general index of fifty pages, double column, greatly facilitates the location of desired rules and illustrations.

E.S.B.

ANALYZING SOCIAL PROBLEMS. Edited by John Eric Nordskog, Edward C. McDonagh, and Melvin J. Vincent. New York: The Dryden Press, 1950, pp. xi+818.

The appearance of a new "problems text" is always greeted with interest, and as a sociological anthology this work has much to commend it. Its treatment of problems is the most recent available.

The whole work constitutes a very careful choice of materials; the authors considered over four thousand articles in making their selection. The articles chosen represent the work of many outstanding sociologists, while contributions in related fields are from such well-known authorities as Karen Horney, Margaret Mead, Harry Elmer Barnes, James B. Conant, Robert M. Hutchins, Bertrand Russell, F. A. Hayek, and Pandit Nehru.

One distinguishing feature is that the authors have sought to give complete selections rather than mere excerpts. The resultant compilation gives an exceptionally well balanced presentation of research findings and interpretations. The fact that opposing views are set forth should prove stimulating and thought provoking to the student.

Each chapter consists of an introductory discussion and a series of selected articles. Following each article are pertinent questions and succinct comments which should serve to guide and direct the student, as well as to test his grasp of the content.

The chapters are exceedingly well organized, and the structure of the entire work may be described in terms of "integrated expansion." This is seen in the grouping of topics. The first chapter, entitled "Social Problems Defined," considers the general nature of problems, the relationship of sociological theory and applied sociology to problems, and Ogburn's discussion of cultural lag.

After giving this general framework and foundation, the authors consider population problems and ethnic and industrial relations. Subsequent chapters deal with personality and family disorganization, both of these aspects of maladjustment being fully treated. The one chapter includes personality conflicts, neurosis, drug addiction, and alcoholism; the other considers the family in a changing society, anthropological views of the modern family, social valuations regarding sex and family relations, parent-youth conflict, and age.

The authors then proceed to analyze juvenile delinquency and crime. Here, as throughout the rest of the book, the treatment is thoroughly up to date. The sociological approach to crime is strengthened by psychiatric interpretations.

The chapter "Analyzing Educational Problems" is a competent survey of such topics as democracy and civil liberties, the present role of the intellectual, criteria for college graduation, federal aid to education, and the problem of church and state in its bearings on education—a comprehensive treatment.

The concluding five of the book's fourteen chapters are concerned with international relations, social reform, and planning. In its coverage of postwar world problems this book is more inclusive and up to date than many texts. The authors discuss, among other topics, consumer cooperation, British socialism, federalism, language barriers, individualism and collectivism, and the United Nations.

An accompanying Teacher's Manual, prepared by Dr. Esther Penchef, is concise and helpful. It contains summaries of each selection, questions based on each chapter, and suggestive discussion topics. The glossary and objective tests included should add to its usefulness.

The format of the text is impressive. The bibliography is excellent. This reviewer knows of no other book of readings more deserving of recommendation as a social problems text. It merits wide adoption.

JOHN E. OWEN
Ohio University

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION. The Rise and Decline of Liberalism in Europe since 1815. By J. J. Saunders. New York: Roy Publishers, 1949, pp. 311.

This scholarly account of the rise and decline of Liberalism since 1815 lays a unique foundation for understanding the emergence of the tyranny of totalitarianism. In the analysis of Liberal Romanticism the influences of religion, the machine age, the advent of socialism, and the rise of the *bourgeoisie* to political power are explained as phases. National democracy is then traced with emphasis on the development of the national state with its loyalties, realism in literature, scientific materialism, the development of socialism, and imperialist expansion. The analysis continues with the role of nationalism in the first quarter of this century, the rise of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the rise of fascism.

Liberalism, which once promised so much, had a short life. It meant different things for different countries. Confusion about meanings and issues opened the way for new trends. Observing roughly the sequence of serfdom and feudalism, nationalism, the rise of the *bourgeoisie,* socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, fascism, and totalitarianism, how far from the ideals of liberalism the trend has gone!   J.E.N.

CORNERSTONES OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN AMERICA. Edited
by Joseph L. Blau. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1949, pp. x+250.

This book is the fourth in the Beacon Studies in Freedom and Power.
The editor states that he is "deeply concerned that freedom of religion
in our time should be defended boldly against increasing threats facing
it." A series of historic statements in defense of religious freedom are
quoted, beginning with "Colonial stirrings" as exemplified in the writ-
ings of Roger Williams and William Penn. Quotations from Thomas
Jefferson and James Madison in support of the separation of State and
Church are followed by excerpts from statements by various authorities
who affirmed civil rights of religious minorities, resisted enforcement
of the Sabbath, tried to keep religion out of politics, resisted efforts to
impose "religious forms" on the public school, and fought against re-
lease time for religious instruction.   M.H.N.

ALTRUISTIC LOVE. A Study of American "Good Neighbors" and Chris-
tian Saints. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1950, pp.
vii+253.

The data for the first part of this study were found in the letters of
recommendation sent to Tom Brenneman's radio program entitled
"Breakfast in Hollywood." Five hundred of these letters were selected
for classification. Ninety-three of the "good neighbors" wrote auto-
biographies and answered a questionnaire. Another source was a group
of 112 persons "who were selected by Harvard graduate and under-
graduate students, and by some social workers, as the most altruistic
persons among those whom each of them knew." Among the main con-
clusions is this: "good-neighborliness is real creativity in the field of
goodness; as any genuine creativity it requires the proper talent and
then careful training and effortful cultivation." While stating that
"the factual material of this study is very limited" and that most of the
conclusions are "purely tentative," the author contends that such in-
vestigations are worth while partly because they offset the great emphasis
given to studies of crime and delinquency and partly because they bring
to the fore a type of behavior that is important in itself as an aspect
of human relations.

In the second part of the book an analysis is made of materials about
3,069 Catholic saints as reported in Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, revised
by H. S. J. Thurston. The data for the most part are very sketchy and
hence the conclusions are in general greatly limited in significance.
                                                        E.S.B.

FUNDAMENTAL STATISTICS IN PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION.
By J. P. Guilford. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1950, pp.
xiii+633.

This is a revised edition of the book of the same title originally
published in 1942. The present edition is approximately twice the size
of the older one and is almost a completely new text. All the subjects
originally covered were retained and many new ones introduced. At
least 75 per cent of the contents of the book is new, including new
illustrations and examples. New subject matter not included in the
older text includes a chapter on scaling techniques, a greatly enlarged
treatment of analysis of variance, reliability and validity of tests, and
new methods of prediction of attributes and procedures for evaluating
these methods.

All in all, this is now one of the most comprehensive and thorough
of the introductory statistics texts. The author has given a clear pre-
sentation and has taken great pains to point out the various interrelation-
ships of the statistics. The publishers have been careful in setting up
the book, for the reviewer noticed only one typographical error. The
orientation of the author appears to be toward making the student aware
of the assumptions and techniques of statistical analysis and of the
methods of test development. This text can unhesitatingly be recom-
mended for use in introductory statistics courses.   CLAY FRANKLIN

HUMAN ECOLOGY. A Theory of Community Structure. By Amos H. Haw-
ley. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950, pp. xvi+456.

In the Preface the author explains that this book "marks the comple-
tion of a work begun a number of years ago by the late Professor R. D.
McKenzie." Special indebtedness is expressed to Mrs. McKenzie for
her "constant encouragement and penetrating criticism."

In the first three chapters the relation of plant and animal ecology
to human ecology is discussed. Human ecology is viewed as a study of
the organization of the functional relationships of the community. Its
viewpoint is that "of individuals and groups seeking position in a develop-
ing system of relationships."

The next five chapters are devoted to the subject of human aggrega-
tion, which includes population composition, population growth, and
population balance. The theme of ecological organization is treated in the
next six chapters, where attention is given to differentiation and organi-
zation of population, to community structure, and to both the spatial
and temporal aspects of ecological organization. These are the most

significant chapters of the volume, for they seem to deal with the most important components of human ecology.

The concluding five chapters treat of change and development of a community and cover such themes as mobility, expansion, the growth of the city. The twenty-three references in the Index to Roderick D. McKenzie indicate something regarding the place of McKenzie's thinking in this volume. No other writer receives more than half this number of citations. The author, however, shifts the McKenzie emphasis on spatial patterns in which functional relations are expressed to a stress on interest in the functional relations themselves, especially as these operate in a community. Thus, human ecology is brought more definitely within the orbit of sociological thinking than McKenzie and Park conceived the subject to be. This book lays the groundwork for an all-round study of human ecology and suggests a variety of research subjects for empirical research.   E.S.B.

CALIFORNIA'S STATELY HALL OF FAME. By Rockwell D. Hunt. Publications of the California History Foundation, Number 2, January 1950, pp. 675.

Professor Hunt, of the College of the Pacific and Dean Emeritus of the Graduate School of the University of Southern California, has written a history of California as lived by more than one hundred distinguished leaders of the Golden State. These are the men and women who made California's history, and an examination of their lives reveals the myriad roads to achievement. It is not possible to review all the individual biographies except to note that the Hall of Fame contains the names of famous explorers, religious leaders, traders, homeseekers, military men, politicians, and men of letters and the arts. A few of the men of great distinction are Juan Cabrillo, Junipero Serra, Kit Carson, John Bidwell, Thomas Starr King, Francis Bret Harte, Joseph L. Steffens, and Luther Burbank. Some of the noblewomen included are Jane Stanford, Phoebe Hearst, and Jessie Fremont.

One of the rare charms of this book is the literary style of the author. Dr. Hunt writes on the interesting aspects of these leaders with an admiration secure in historical facts. Although not all the persons included in this remarkable Hall of Fame were good persons, all were challenging and capable. This book ought to find a great many readers, for it is a scholarly book concerning the lives that have made a great state greater.   E.C.M.

THESE ALSO BELIEVE. A Study of Modern American Cults and Minority Religious Movements. By Charles Samuel Braden. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949, pp. xvi+491.

Among the American cults analyzed are the Peace Mission Movement of Father Divine; Psychiana, founded by Dr. Frank B. Robinson; New Thought, which includes numerous subgroups; and the Unity School of Christianity. Christian Science, though discussed as a stable, well-recognized religious body, is nevertheless included among the modern cults and minority religious movements. Theosophy, the I Am movement, and Spiritualism are dealt with as thriving cults. Jehovah's Witnesses claim their movement is not religious—religion is of the Devil—but it is examined here as a religion.

Of recent origin are such groups as the Liberal Catholic Church, the Anglo-Israel group, The Oxford Group Movement. Mormonism now has a century of history and no doubt would rank as a denomination, though it is still a minority movement. The discussion of the origins, development, and doctrines or beliefs of all these religious groups is intensely interesting. Every chapter is alive and dynamic. Each group has been approached with sincerity, sympathy, and understanding. A valuable contribution has been made to the study of religious psychology and the religious factors in group formation.   J.E.N.

SELECTED READINGS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. Edited by Steuart H. Britt. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1950, pp. xi+507.

Fifty short selections have been arranged according to the six major divisions in the author's *Social Psychology of Modern Life.* However, the author has prepared a table for the use of the *Readings,* topic by topic, in connection with ten other texts in social psychology. The selections are made for the use of undergraduates. They include materials from well-known writers, such as K. Young, G. Murphy, T. Veblen, the Lynds, W. F. Ogburn, M. Sherif, H. A. Murray, W. Allbig, G. W. Allport, R. Linton, R. Lippett, K. Lewin, H. Cantril. Psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists are represented.

While no two editors would choose the same materials for a book of readings in this field, the selections that appear in this treatise have been carefully chosen and edited. They will serve the intended purpose well, although they are not so extensive or advanced on the whole as those found in a somewhat comparable book of *Readings* by Newcomb and Hartley.   E.S.B.

CONSERVATISM REVISITED. The Revolt against Revolt, 1815-1949. By Peter Viereck. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949, pp. xviii+187.

This is a brilliant and unorthodox analysis of the conservative political thought of the age of Prince Metternich, which those who want solutions for present-day problems cannot afford to overlook. The reality with which Metternich sensed the basic issues of his generation was nothing short of genius. The author presents the view that conservatism is not the enemy of economic reform or social progress, and it is not an oppressive instrument of the privileged few. What is needed is orderly change and progress within a framework of law and morality, guided by the light of experience.

These principles were exemplified in the political leadership of Metternich. Metternich taught—and still teaches—common sense. He was utterly against national lawlessness. He viewed his continent as a Republic of Europe. He did not think in terms of a German *Volk*. Europe was his native country. Today, in comparison, our "native country" would be an ever broadening community of humanity. Monarchs, but not the masses, were the pupils of Metternich. We live in an age of the masses, where force, rather than the conference table, is looked to for the solution of problems. Even so, our contemporary leaders would gain much by reconsidering the lessons taught by Metternich to the rulers of his day.   J.E.N.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF GEORG SIMMEL. Translated, edited, and with an Introduction by Kurt H. Wolff. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950, pp. xiv+445.

It is a rare service that Dr. Wolff has rendered American sociology in doing this excellent translating and editing. The earlier translations of some of Simmel's papers by Small and of extracts from Simmel in Park and Burgess' *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* was followed by Spykman's *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*. But now, as a result of Wolff's work, English-reading sociologists will be able to study Simmel easily and make up their minds regarding the importance of his contributions to sociological thought.

In Wolff's work will be found a translation of all of Simmel's *Grundfragen der Soziologie*, Simmel's last major work; extensive selections from Simmel's *Soziologie;* and a lecture entitled "Die Grossstädte und das Geistesleben." These selections are probably as good as anyone could make and still keep within the limitations of a 445-page book.

Wolff has done an interesting and helpful piece of editing, for he has clarified Simmel's cumbersome style and made it easily readable, apparently without doing violence to the original texts.

The reader will follow Simmel's discussion of a variety of concepts with interest and stimulation. These concepts include the following: society, societal forms, sociation, sociability, freedom, equality, group organization, the dyad and the triad, domination, superordination, subordination, and the stranger. Space permits no critical examination of Simmel here, but the students of the book will be able to make their own estimates. It is perhaps permissible to state that this translation will strengthen the position accorded Simmel in the history of sociology despite a vulnerability at various points in his sociological theorizing.

E.S.B.

A RHETORIC OF MOTIVES. By Kenneth Burke. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1950, pp. xv+340.

In this book the author makes extensive use of the concepts of psychoanalysis to clarify the multifarious aspects of rhetoric. In Part I, "The Range of Rhetoric," he lists both malign and benign motivations. "Rhetoric is *par excellence* the region of the Scramble, of insult and injury, bickering, squabbling, malice and the lie, cloaked malice and the subsidized lie . . . rhetoric also includes resources of appeal ranging from sacrificial, evangelical love, through the kinds of persuasion figuring in sexual love, to sheer 'neutral' *communication*" (page 19).

Mr. Burke deals with "Traditional Principles of Rhetoric" in Part II. He makes interesting analyses of the classic conceptions of Bentham, Marx, Carlyle, Empson, Veblen, Diderot, Rochefoucauld, de Gourmont, and Machiavelli. And in Part III, "Order," he gives critical reviews of the theories of Mannheim, Castiglione, Kafka, and Kierkegaard. His comparison of Mannheim's concepts of ideology and utopia with the Platonic myth is especially suggestive (see pages 197-203). Mr. Burke makes effective use of Bronislaw Malinowski's concept of "context of situation" in clarifying the meanings of words in "living, primitive, spoken languages," by extending this valuable idea to "sophisticated recorded utterance" as exemplified in the writings of Bentham and Marx.

Although the book appears to end on page 294, the author appends under the general heading "Rhetorical Radiance of the 'Divine'" some short special studies which are of considerable interest. His studies of Henry James, C. M. Hopkins, Yeats, and Eliot are especially significant.

Mr. Burke is far to the left in his own thinking on social and political problems. He frequently goes out of his way to express his hostility to various aspects of our capitalistic society, and he expressly condemns our government for carrying on the cold war with Russia. By so doing he places himself in that class of disgruntled intellectuals who, being cocksure that they know how to shatter the world to bits and to remold it nearer their heart's desire, resent the tenacity with which the defenders of the *status quo* resist their efforts. Although his book is highly informative and original, critical readers will need to winnow the chaff from the wheat.   DANIEL S. ROBINSON

LEAVES FROM A RUSSIAN DIARY—AND THIRTY YEARS AFTER. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1950, pp. ix+346.

Many people who did not read this book when it was first published (1924) might well do so now in order to obtain an inside view of what a revolution is like and how inhuman man can be to man. This edition contains a new Foreword, in which the author asserts that "the horrors of the Russian Revolution are not peculiar to it, but are typical of practically all violent revolutions, regardless of time, place, race, creed, or nationality." Moreover, he says, Revolution was one of the clearest manifestations of "the disintegration of our Western, sensate, socio-cultural order."

In the new Part V on "Thirty Years After" Dr. Sorokin points out certain successes and failures of the Russian Revolution. Among the first are the Revolution's survival "amid very difficult conditions and in spite of powerful enemies," its "total, unlimited character," its unprecedented quantitative scope and world-wide diffusion," its success in changing "even its implacable enemies into its own image. and its grave-digger role for "the disintegrating sensate socio-cultural order of the West." Its failures center in its inability to produce any genius either first class or second class, its incapacity to produce high levels of creativity "in practically all fields of culture," its destructive effects on religion and its deification of materialism, its production of puppets in "the social and humanistic disciplines," its dominant methods as a police state after thirty years of existence, its continued suppression of individual freedom, its failure to raise standards of living. Dr. Sorokin calls upon everyone to unite, not in a totalitarian conflict, but in a war upon "the eternal, implacable enemies of mankind—death, disease, hate, misery, insanity, and uncertainty, whenever and wherever they are found." In short, the author would call forth "the techniques of love instead of hate, of creative construction rather than destruction, of reverence for life in place of serving death, of real freedom instead of coercion and pseudo-freedom."   E.S.B.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP. Edited by Marvin Bower. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. xxii+130.

There is little doubt that if business leaders were to follow the suggestions found in this book of essays a definite improvement would result, both within the industries concerned and with respect to business leadership in the community. Thus, the volume successfully fulfills its purpose of serving as a guide to business executives.

Mr. Bower has written a thoughtful statement of purpose in a seven-page Preface. In addition, the book includes an Introduction by Dean Donald David of the Harvard Business School and six essays based on speeches given at the Annual Conference of the Harvard Business School Association in June 1949, five by business leaders and one by economist Sumner Slichter.

Of the first three essays, dealing with "The Kind of Business Leaders We Need," that by Professor Slichter on "The Problems of Business Leadership in a Laboristic Economy" is the best because it is the most realistic. He presents an analysis of the decline of the influence of business leaders in our society and tells what must be done to bring about a proper balance between government, labor, and business. The two papers by Mr. Spates and Mr. Boulware emphasize the types of responsibility needed to re-establish business as the vanguard of social progress in America.

The second set of three essays concerns "Steps in Developing the Kind of Business Leaders We Need." It contains practical advice for selecting and training management personnel and for taking steps to fulfill the promise of one's own leadership capacities. While the theory of leadership, as developed by Bogardus and others, is not advanced, it is encouraging to find business following such enlightened principles. The concrete illustrative material is excellent.

Sociologically the book is disappointing because of the lack of an explicit statement of its theoretical assumptions. Two primary weaknesses are found in all the essays by the active business executives. First is a lack of awareness that there really may be a basic conflict of interests between workers and management. Second is an unwillingness to admit the responsibility of business for the full social results of its action, for the unintended as well as for the intended consequences. It is pertinent to ask with Roethlisberger: "Can management afford not to take responsibility for its own social creations. . . ?"

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SOCIAL FICTION

This novel, which has won wide acclaim, presents a variation of the old American success story. It tells of the rather rapid rise of a young Irish-American boy from the humble home of working-class parents to the exalted position of Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. Novelist Robinson marks the path to distinction with hardships for young Stephen Fermoyle, many of them fraught with melodramatic touches.

The first obstacle he meets in the person of Lawrence Cardinal Glennon, who suspects that his young priest is more interested in translating *La Scala d'amore,* lively with some pranks of good old St. Augustine, than in the vicissitudes of his parishioners. Cardinal Glennon, suffering from one of his maddening hypertension headaches, sends Stephen off to a desolate parish, there to serve as assistant to the Reverend E. E. Halley, a conspicuous failure as a pastor, and satirically wishes that they will enjoy each other. Nothing daunted, Stephen succeeds in putting that parish back on its feet by pointing out how valuable its timber assets are. Back in Boston, several years later, Stephen succeeds in giving the last rites to an Italian laborer caught in a sewer cave-in, and thus re-establishes himself in the eyes of Cardinal Glennon, whom, in turn, the Italian community rewards with new faith.

Other adventures occur, and finally Stephen is taken to Rome by the Cardinal at the time of the death of Benedict XV. The new Pope, Pius XI, looks with great favor on the young American priest. The title of Monsignor is bestowed on him and he is kept at the Vatican for a time. Sent back to Washington as adviser to the new apostolic delegate, Stephen is shortly made Bishop of Hartfield and in good time is able to give President Roosevelt advice on affairs of church and state. Pius XI on his deathbed finally bestows the Red Hat upon Stephen.

The novelist has drawn some good portraits, the best of which is that of Cardinal Glennon, a human being with a sense of humor despite his doctors. The lower-middle-class home of Stephen is finely sketched and the picture of a gay Italian set is interesting by way of contrast. Perhaps best of all is his enlightening presentation of the ways of the Church of Rome. Some readers may suspect with cause that the Catholic novelist is attempting to propagandize for the Church, but he disavows any such intention. At any rate, since the story is so well told, that need not matter. What emerges from it is a favorable point of view for the men who have charge of the program of the Church.   M.J.V.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH